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In Memoriam
Timothy Reuter (1947–2002)

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Preface

This volume originated in a conference held in July 2003 at the University of Wales conference centre at Gregynog. We would like to thank the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, the Department of History and Welsh History at Aberystwyth, and the German Historical Institute, London, for their generous financial support, and Ellen Gethin and the staff at Gregynog for making our stay there such a memorable and pleasant experience.

The main aim of the Gregynog conference had been to bring together the burgeoning international community of scholars working on medieval Germany, and it included participants from Austria, Germany, Norway, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Proceedings were, however, overshadowed by the absence of Timothy Reuter. Tim, who had been scheduled to speak at Gregynog, had done more than anyone else to bring together German and non-German historians and historiographies, and his absence has made us aware of the intellectual and personal debts we all owe him. It is to his memory that this volume is therefore dedicated.

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Abbreviations

AfD	*Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*
BN	Bibliothéque nationale, Paris
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis
DA	*Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
FMST	*Frühmittelalterliche Studien*
HJB	*Historisches Jahrbuch*
HZ	*Historische Zeitschrift*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Briefe/Kaiserzeit	Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit
Constitutiones	Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum
CRF	Capitularia regum Francorum
Diplomata Karol.	Die Urkunden der Karolinger
Diplomata Karol./D.	Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger
Diplomata König	Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser
Ep.	Epistolae (in Quart)
FMK	Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi
FRG sep. ed.	Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi
NG	Necrologiae Germaniae

PLM	Poetae Latini Medii Aevii
Saec. XIII	Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum Romanorum selectae
Schriften	Schriften der MGH
SRL	Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum
SS	Scriptores (in Folio)
SSrG NS	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series
SSrG sep. ed.	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum Scholarum separatim editi
MIÖG	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*
NA	*Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtsforschung*
NCMH, II	*New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. II: *c. 700–c. 900*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)
NCMH, III	*New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. III: *c. 900–c. 1024*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
Settimane	Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo (Spoleto, 1953–)
TF	*Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, vol. I, ed. by Theodor Bitterauf, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, n.s., 4 (Munich, 1905; repr., Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1967)
ZSRG (GA)	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung*
ZSRG (KA)	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung*

Introduction

SIMON MACLEAN AND BJÖRN WEILER

'To be a king is not simply a matter of status or action, but also of style. [. . .] If you were perceived as a king, then you were one.'[1] This apt phrase of Tim Reuter's highlights one of the key elements of politics in the Middle Ages. The projection of an image of power by medieval rulers, whether they were kings, queens, emperors, or bishops, was always a crucial component of their actual authority. This projection, or representation, was far from being window dressing. Style was by no means divorced from substance: to be effective or even relevant, representations of power had to refer back in tangible ways to the 'effective' or material bases of the ruler's authority, whether those were institutional, economic, or military.[2] The symbolic expression of power became an even more significant element of the political order in periods when the structures of the state were institutionally weak, as was the case for large parts of the Middle Ages. Yet to study historically the exact relationship between the authority of the powerful and the ways that this authority was represented is, for all its importance, an enterprise fraught with difficulties. These difficulties take us to the heart of the political history of the medieval period, and the approaches developed by historians in recent years have given rise to a lively series of debates about how this history can or should be written.

This is where the present volume comes in. The essays assembled here respond to and take part in current debates about the political history of medieval Germany and its rulers. The word 'Germany' in this context is arguably anachronistic, but should be understood simply as a term of convenience for the territories which came at times under the umbrella of the medieval *regnum Theutonicorum*. These included

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[1] Timothy Reuter, '*Regemque, quem in Francia pene perdidit, in patria magnifice recepit*: Ottonian Ruler-Representation in Synchronic and Diachronic Comparison', in *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, ed. by Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1998), pp. 363–80 (p. 364).

[2] Ibid., pp. 363–64.

not only modern Germany, but also Austria, the Czech Republic, parts of Belgium and the Netherlands, and at times even northern Italy and Burgundy. However, the essays also reflect the incipient revival of the study of medieval Germany outside Germany and seek to make available to a wider audience the methodologies, approaches, and questions discussed by historians of the medieval *Reich*. This introduction will reflect these aims and ambitions and falls into two parts. The first will place the articles published here within their broader historiographical context. This is by no means intended as a complete or definitive overview but rather as an outline guide for those who may not be familiar with the development of scholarly debates on the subject. The second section looks more specifically at the papers themselves and explains in greater detail both the chief themes of this book and their wider methodological and historiographical implications.

I

When, in 1909, Karl Hampe published his *Deutsche Kaisergeschichte in der Zeit der Salier und Staufer*,[3] he had a very clear conception of what the key dynamics in the political structure of Europe in the Central Middle Ages were. Principal among these was the gradual loss of power and influence on the part of central, imperial authority, in favour of that of secular and ecclesiastical princes. Strong rulers were those who expanded royal authority; weak ones were those who, like Otto III, frittered away their German resources on ill-fated conquests in Italy. This approach remained for a long time highly influential (in fact, the English translation published in 1973[4] was to remain for many years one of the key textbooks for teaching Anglophone undergraduates, including, in the early 1990s, one of the present editors). Similarly, Heinrich Mitteis viewed the political history of medieval Europe in general, and of medieval Germany in particular, as defined by the gradual development and refinement of governmental processes, of a legal and administrative framework, and of loosely defined institutions which regulated the relationship between rulers and their aristocracy on the one hand, and between rulers and the Church on the other. These perceived processes and phenomena were clustered together and summarized by the concept of *Staatlichkeit*, or statehood.[5] These approaches formed, however, only one strand in the study of medieval German politics during the twentieth century. Even

[3] Karl Hampe, *Deutsche Kaisergeschichte in der Zeit der Salier und Staufer* (Leipzig: Quelle and Meyer, 1909).

[4] Karl Hampe, *Germany under the Salian and Hohenstaufen Emperors*, trans. by Ralph Bennett (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973).

[5] Heinrich Mitteis, *Der Staat des Hohen Mittelalters* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1940); Mitteis, *Lehnsrecht und Staatsgewalt: Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1933).

more influential than the paradigm associated with Hampe and Mitteis was that which became synonymous with the names of Percy Ernst Schramm and Ernst Kantorowicz. This was exemplified by Schramm's seminal work on Otto III,[6] his multi-volume *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*,[7] and Kantorowicz's *Laudes Regiae* and *The King's Two Bodies*.[8] Rather than debating the presence or absence of institutional mechanisms in medieval German politics, these historians focused attention on concepts and ideologies of royal lordship, as expressed either in learned writings or in material artefacts (such as royal insignia, paintings, architecture).

Both schools of thought spawned a rich and varied literature, and our understanding of the German past would have been considerably more limited without the work, for instance, of Karl Bosl on the imperial *ministeriales*, Walter Schlesinger on constitutional history, Reinhard Elze on coronation ordines, or Peter Rassow, Werner Goez, and — more recently — Jürgen Petersohn on concepts of imperial self-representation.[9] At the same time, these traditions of scholarship did not encompass the totality of research on medieval German politics. Helmut Beumann's still unsurpassed study of Widukind of Corvey and Erich Kleinschmidt's analysis of the representation of Rudolf of Habsburg in narrative sources opened up a field of enquiry largely left unexplored by Schramm and Kantorowicz.[10] Otto Brunner, Karl Leyser,

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[6] Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio: Studien und Texte zur Geschichte des römischen Erneuerungsgedankens vom Ende des karolingischen Reiches bis zum Investiturstreit* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929; repr., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992).

[7] Percy Ernst Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, 3 vols, MGH Schriften, 13 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1954–56).

[8] Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship; with a Study of the Music of the laudes and Musical Transcriptions, by Manfred F. Bukofzer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946); Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

[9] Karl Bosl, *Die Reichsministerialität der Salier und Staufer: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des hochmittelalterlichen deutschen Volkes, Staates und Reiches*, 2 vols, MGH Schriften, 10 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950–51); Walter Schlesinger, *Beiträge zur deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, 2 vols (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1963); *Die Ordines für die Weihe und Krönung des Kaisers und der Kaiserin*, ed. by Reinhard Elze, MGH FRG sep. ed., 9 (Hannover: Hahn, 1960); Peter Rassow, *Honor imperii: Die neue Politik Friedrich Barbarossas, 1152–1159* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1961); Werner Goez, *Translatio imperii: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1958); Jürgen Petersohn, *'Echte' und 'falsche' Insignien im deutschen Krönungsbrauch des Mittelalters?* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1993); Petersohn, *Rom und der Reichstitel Sacrum Romanum Imperium* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1994); *Politik und Heiligenvereherung im Mittelalter*, ed. by Petersohn (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994).

[10] Helmut Beumann, *Widukind von Korvei: Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung und Ideengeschichte des 10 Jahrhunderts* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1950); Erich Kleinschmidt,

and Karl Schmid drew attention to the informal mechanisms of politics[11] and argued that rather than searching for an organized institutionalization or *Staatlichkeit*, which was unlikely to be found in an early medieval context, the organizational framework within which politics were conducted could be provided by networks of friendship, alliance, and patronage. In short, they argued that if we wanted to search for the idea of the state in an early medieval context, it had to be looked for in a network of personal contacts and alliances, summarized by the principle of *Personenverbands-staatlichkeit*.

During the 1980s and 1990s, these approaches were brought together and transformed in the writings of scholars such as Leyser, Reuter, and Gerd Althoff. These historians were, of course, interested in different aspects of the German past, and it would be a mistake to lump them together into a defined school of historical enquiry. Nevertheless, their work shared common features. They focused mostly on the period up to the mid-twelfth century, and their approach was characterized by a greater emphasis on rituals, the 'unwritten rules' of the political game.[12] These were expressed through what has been termed 'symbolic communication',[13] that is, the use and description of gestures, actions, even certain forms of address and speech as a means of political communication.[14] The insights provided by this research have also led to a re-evaluation of the narrative sources, heralding a return to the study of literary structure and purpose in works of historical writing, and of the ways in which political actions and their representation were used by contemporary and later

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Herrscherdarstellung: zur Disposition mittelalterlichen Aussageverhaltens: untersucht an Texten über Rudolf I. von Habsburg (Bern: Francke, 1973).

[11] Otto Brunner, *Land und Herrschaft: Grundfragen der territorialen Verfassungsgeschichte Österreichs im Mittelalter*, 5th rev. edn (Vienna: Böhlau, 1965; originally published 1939); Karl J. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London: Arnold, 1979); *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. by Karl Schmid, 5 vols (Munich: Fink, 1978).

[12] Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997). For a convenient summary of Althoff's key points in English, see Julia Barrow, 'Review Article: Playing by the Rules: Conflict Management in Tenth and Eleventh-Century Germany', *EME*, 11 (2002), 389–96.

[13] A term introduced into medieval studies by Gerd Althoff: 'Zur Bedeutung symbolischer Kommunikation für das Verständnis des Mittelalters', *FMST*, 31 (1997), 370–89. *Formen und Funktionen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, ed. by Gerd Althoff (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001).

[14] Timothy Reuter, '*Velle sibi fieri in forma hac*: Symbolisches Handeln im Becketstreit', in *Formen und Funktionen*, ed. by Althoff, pp. 201–25; Reuter, 'The Origins of the German *Sonderweg*? The Empire and its Rulers in the High Middle Ages', in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Anne Duggan (London: King's College, 1993), pp. 179–211.

observers to mould and construct their representations of the past.[15] Methodologically, much of these scholars' work is indebted to anthropology and sociology, utilized in an attempt both to establish explanatory models of political behaviour[16] and to construct a phenomenology of political institutions and behaviour.[17]

Two publications which perhaps best summarize this shift in perspective are Gerd Althoff's *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter*, a collection of previously published essays which appeared in 1997, and *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im Ottonischen Sachsen*, edited by Althoff and Ernst Schubert, and published in 1998. The former aimed to provide an outline of some of the unwritten rules of political behaviour and argued that public displays of emotion which appeared in accounts, for instance, of reconciliation and forgiveness actually represented the playing out of performances agreed through advance negotiations, and not, as had often been argued, of the unrestrainedly emotional nature of medieval men. This was complemented by an outline of some of the key mechanisms by which such arrangements could be made and conducted, including the various types of *colloquium* at the participants' disposal, and the importance of finding suitable and influential intercessors. The latter volume combines a range of disciplines (archaeology, art history, and history) to explore the representation of Ottonian lordship in Saxony, in the sense of not only depiction and display, but also reception of and response to a ruler's or lord's self-representation. Among the issues considered were, for instance, the roles played by royal itineraries, episcopal tradition, and authority, and also the cult of saints and relics.[18] Inevitably, these changes of perspective and methodology have also had a profound impact on how the past is represented by modern historians. One need only compare the ways

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[15] Most notably in the work of Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Buc, 'Political Rituals and Political Imagination in the Medieval West from the Fourth Century to the Eleventh', in *The Medieval World*, ed. by Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 432–50; Buc, 'Rituel politique et imaginaire politique au haut Moyen Âge', *Revue Historique*, 306 (2002), 843–83; Ludger Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade: Zu Kontext und Funktion sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der ottonisch-frühsalischen Zeit* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001). See also the contributions by Goldberg, Bernhardt, Ashcroft, and Jones in this volume.

[16] Althoff, *Spielregeln*, passim.

[17] See, for instance, Timothy Reuter, 'Unruhestiftung, Fehde, Rebellion, Widerstand: Gewalt und Frieden in der Politik der Salierzeit', in *Die Salier und das Reich: Gesellschaftlicher und ideengeschichtlicher Wandel im Reich der Salier*, ed. by Stefan Weinfurter and others, 3 vols (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1992), III, 297–325; Reuter, 'Assembly Politics in Western Europe from the Eighth Century to the Twelfth', in *The Medieval World*, ed. by Linehan and Nelson, pp. 432–50.

[18] The importance of this approach can be seen, for instance, in the very similar structure of *Stauferreich im Wandel: Ordnungsvorstellungen und Politik in der Zeit Friedrich Barbarossas*, ed. by Stefan Weinfurter (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2002).

the tenth century has been described in survey treatments by Beumann and Althoff. Beumann presented a narrative of key political events centring on the reigns of successive Ottonian rulers.[19] Althoff, on the other hand, indicated in the subtitle of his book ('Kingship without State') the very different approach he had chosen: his book was about royal lordship without the administrative or legal institutions of a modern state. Consequently, the narrative of political events was pushed back in favour of outlining the informal structures and mechanisms of royal lordship.[20] The narrative of the past offered by modern scholars has thus become more fragmented, with greater attention paid to such elusive and ill-defined themes and concepts as honour, friendship, and the terminology of imperial power[21] than to the traditional themes of Church and state, or the material and economic basis of power.[22]

These developments have not passed without criticism. With regard to interpretation of political rituals, for instance, Philippe Buc has pointed to the complex textual nature of the evidence and has warned against reading every description of a ritual as accurate and susceptible to an anthropological-style analysis. Rather, modern historians would be well advised to keep in mind the inherently exegetical and interpretative nature of medieval writing, as we are dealing with texts that have very clear moral and political points to make.[23] Equally, there is a tendency to crystallize

[19] Helmut Beumann, *Die Ottonen*, 2nd rev. edn (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1991).

[20] Gerd Althoff, *Die Ottonen: Königsherrschaft ohne Staat* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000).

[21] Knut Görich, *Otto III, Romanus, Saxonicus et Italicus: Kaiserliche Rompolitik und sächsische Historiographie* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995); Görich, *Die Ehre Friedrich Barbarossas: Kommunikation, Konflikt und politisches Handeln im 12. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2001); Verena Epp, *Amicitia: Zur Geschichte personaler, sozialer, politischer und geistlicher Beziehungen im frühen Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1999); Gerd Althoff, *Verwandte, Freunde und Getreue: Zum politischen Stellenwert der Gruppenbindungen im früheren Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990); Heinz Krieg, *Herrscherdarstellung in der Stauferzeit* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2003); Gerrit Jasper Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik: Herrschereinzüge im spätmittelalterlichen Reich* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003); Achim Thomas Hack, *Das Empfangszeremoniell bei mittelalterlichen Papst-Kaiser-Treffen* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1999).

[22] See, however, for a splendid example of how these various strands can be combined Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); see also, proving the continuing relevance of economic history, Benjamin Arnold, *Power and Property in Medieval Germany: Economic and Social Change c.900–1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[23] Buc, *Dangers of Ritual*, passim. Professor Buc has sometimes been accused of defeatism; see, however, his 'Noch einmal 918–9: Of the Ritualised Demise of Kings and of Political Ritual in General', in *Zeichen – Werte – Rituale: Internationales Kolloquium des Sonderforschungsbereichs 496 an der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster*, ed. by Gerd Althoff (Münster: Rhema, 2004), pp. 151–78. For the debate engendered by Buc, see the trenchant response by Geoffrey Koziol, 'Review Article: The Dangers of Polemic: Is Ritual Still an Interesting Topic of Historical Study?', *EME*, 11 (2002), 367–88.

Althoff's findings into a hermetically sealed system, which does not allow for disputes, challenges, or debates. Invocation of Althoff's 'unwritten rules' in this way can lead to a static, unchanging, and unhistorical picture of the past in which factors such as changing power relations rarely come into play. Such an approach leaves little room for historical change: all we are dealing with is a fixed set of ritual or representational building blocks which could be assembled at will and independent of context.[24] Several of the essays assembled here reflect these concerns and deal with challenges to acts (ritual and otherwise) of self-representation, with conflicting narratives in contemporary sources, or with debates among those who observed an event or action as to its meaning. Similarly, a number of essays deal with changes in the themes of rulerly self-representation, or their recording and representation in written or material sources. While owing an inevitable debt to the approaches pioneered by Schramm, Kantorowicz, Leyser, Reuter, and Althoff, the present volume thus also seeks to identify avenues for further enquiry and exploration.

The changing approach to medieval German politics is, however, only part of the background before which this volume is situated. These essays also reflect the degree to which the study of medieval Germany has become a truly international undertaking. This is a relatively recent phenomenon: as few as ten years ago, it would have been very difficult to put together a book like this, with the majority of contributors from Britain or the United States. The reasons for this internationalization are as complex as those for the preceding abeyance of interest, and full explanation would require a separate study.[25] Nonetheless, starting perhaps with the translation into English of Otto Brunner's *Land und Herrschaft* in 1992,[26] or Heinrich Fichtenau's *Lebensordnungen im 10. Jahrhundert* in 1991,[27] and combined with the efforts of energetic individuals such as Robert Benson and Timothy Reuter, both the sources available for the study of medieval Germany and the approaches to them developed by German historians have begun to attract a wider audience. Over the last few years, not only have key works been translated into English (such as Gerd Tellenbach's book on the Church of the eleventh and twelfth century, Stefan Weinfurter's study of the Salian dynasty, or Gerd Althoff's biography of Otto III and his

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[24] As recognized by Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003).

[25] Some of these factors are outlined in the introduction to *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. by Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1–17.

[26] Otto Brunner, *Land and Lordship: Structures of Governance in Medieval Austria*, trans. and with an introduction by Howard Kaminsky and James Van Horn Melton (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).

[27] Heinrich Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century: Mentalities and Social Orders*, trans. by Patrick J. Geary (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); originally published as *Lebensordnungen des 10. Jahrhunderts: Studien über Denkart und Existenz im einstigen Karolingerreich*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1984).

work on friendship networks),[28] but there has also been an increasing number of books by historians from outside Germany, such as John Bernhardt on kingship and royal monasteries, Matthew Innes on the Middle Rhine region, Sverre Bagge on historical writing, Ian Robinson on Emperor Henry IV, or C. Stephen Jaeger on ideals of courtliness.[29] Equally, the teaching of medieval German history at the undergraduate level has become easier due to recent translations of such important texts as Thietmar of Merseburg's *Chronicon* by David Warner, or the *Vitae* of Empress Mathilda by Sean Gilsdorf,[30] coupled with the reissue of older texts like the work of Henry of Livonia and Otto of Freising, or Karl Morrisson and Theodore Mommsen's *Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century*. As is probably becoming clear, the chronological scope of this activity is uneven. While there has been a heavy focus on the Carolingian and Ottonian periods (i.e. the eighth to early eleventh centuries), relatively little work has been published in English on the Staufen period (*c*. 1138–1268) or the later Middle Ages.[31] The present volume certainly reflects this

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[28] Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, trans. by Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Tellenbach, *Church, State, and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. by R. F. Bennett (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Stefan Weinfurter, *The Salian Century: Main Currents in an Age of Transition*, trans. by Barbara M. Bowlus; foreword by Charles R. Bowlus (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Gerd Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Medieval Europe*, trans. by Christopher Carroll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Althoff, *Otto III*, trans. by Phyllis G. Jestice (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003). Among these works must be included the English translation of some key articles collected in *Ordering Medieval Society: Perspectives on Intellectual and Practical Modes of Shaping Social Relations*, ed. by Bernhard Jussen, trans. by Pamela Selwyn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

[29] John W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936–1075* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Innes, *State and Society*; Sverre Bagge, *Kings, Politics, and the Right Order of the World in German Historiography, c. 950–1150* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); I. S. Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056–1106* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Origins of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

[30] *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, trans. by David A. Warner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); *Queenship and Sanctity: The Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid*, trans. by Sean Gilsdorf (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004).

[31] Among laudable exceptions we may mention John B. Freed and Benjamin Arnold: John B. Freed, *The Counts of Falkenstein: Noble Self-Consciousness in Twelfth-Century Germany* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984); Freed, *Noble Bondsmen: Ministerial Marriages in the Archdiocese of Salzburg, 1100–1343* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Benjamin Arnold, *Princes and Territories in Medieval Germany* (Cambridge:

chronological focus, but it also seeks to extend its coverage beyond the eleventh century, with more than half the papers treating the period from 1125 onwards. As such, the essays assembled here offer coverage of the political history of medieval Germany which, though by no means exhaustive, ranks among the most comprehensive presently available in English.

It would probably be overly optimistic to talk of a renaissance of medieval German studies, but it is no longer the pursuit of only a handful of scholars. This may reflect the fact that the kinds of questions historians of medieval Germany have been asking for the past two decades are now also being asked by those with different areas of geographical specialization. Geoffrey Koziol, Amy Remensnyder, and Stephen White, for instance, have been looking at the role of ritual and of symbolic communication, and at the reassessment of historical meaning, in the context of early medieval France.[32] Even historians of Norman and Plantagenet England are beginning to realize the importance of symbolism and ritual, of a ruler's or baron's self-representation and representation.[33] The present volume thus forms part of an emerging international debate about the nature, the means, and the processes of political culture in the Middle Ages.

Cambridge University Press, 1991); Arnold, *Count and Bishop in Medieval Germany: A Study of Regional Power, 1100–1350* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992). This is, however, beginning to change. See, for instance, in addition to the contributions by Ashcroft, Weiler, Jones, Bojcov, and Cohn to this volume, Iva Rosario, *Art and Propaganda: Charles IV of Bohemia, 1346–1378* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001); Leonard E. Scales, 'German Militiae: War and German Identity in the Later Middle Ages', *Past and Present*, 180 (2003), 41–82.

[32] Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Stephen D. White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The Laudatio Parentum in Western France, 1050–1150* (Charlottesville: University of North Carolina Press, 1988). See also the essays assembled by Thomas Bisson in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. by Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).

[33] Nicholas Vincent, 'The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England, 1154–1272', in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. by Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 12–45; Reuter, '*Velle sibi fieri in forma hac*'; Knut Görich, 'Verletzte Ehre? Richard Löwenherz als Gefangener Heinrichs VI.', *HJB*, 123 (2003), 65–91; Klaus van Eickels, *Vom inszenierten Konsens zum systematisierten Konflikt: Die englisch-französischen Beziehungen und ihre Wahrnehmung an der Wende vom Hoch- zum Spätmittelalter* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2002).

II

As we have seen, the historiographical heritage of a volume such as this one is long and varied. Inevitably, this diversity is reflected in the various contributions to the book, which does not pretend to present a coherent thesis or an agreed approach to the central topic. Contributors were not required to conform to any of the methodologies so far discussed. On the contrary, the essays contained herein are testament to the vibrancy of historical scholarship within various intellectual traditions. Indeed, one aim of this book is precisely to bring together different ways of looking at medieval Germany with the purpose of facilitating intellectual exchange and stimulating further thought. A second chief aim is to make more accessible to Anglophone readers some of the important methodological approaches which have been developed and debated in the last two decades, and which have the potential to be equally fruitful in a broader European context. The volume makes no claim to completeness. Chronologically there are regrettable gaps, most noticeably in the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. Thematically, the spotlight is mainly trained on the political power of kings, bishops, and other rulers. There is thus no specific discussion here of, for example, what we might call religious, economic, or military power. These imbalances in coverage are an inevitable consequence of the interests and availability of the contributors; to some extent, however, they may also reflect the current priorities, strengths, and weaknesses of the field.

Moreover, the contributors have analysed the operation of power at many different levels. Although several of the articles deal with representations of power emanating from the political centre (often the royal or imperial court), due attention is also paid to manifestations of power at the local level. Thus the essays by Brown, Warner, Freed, and Bojcov, in particular, are concerned with the regional level of politics. The volume also reflects the great variety in the means and mediums through which power was expressed and debated in medieval Germany, whether through charters (Brown), literature (Ashcroft), material culture (Goldberg, Bernhardt, Ashcroft, and Cohn), or historiography (Bagge, Goetz, and Jones). Yet the representation of royal or princely status was not confined to texts and artefacts. As discussed particularly in the essays by Bojcov, MacLean, and Weiler, the itinerary and physical behaviour of rulers played an important part in their representational armoury. Where and when an important assembly was held, the gestures and body language deployed by actors on the political stage, and the gifts exchanged in public between important figures all held associations and resonances which could bolster or undermine the authority and credibility of a ruler.[34]

It is hoped, therefore, that variety is one of this volume's strengths. Nevertheless, despite the diversity of the essays' scope and approaches, there are certain recurring

[34] See also *Geschichtswissenschaft und 'Performative Turn': Ritual, Inszenierung und Performanz vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit*, ed. by Jürgen Martschukat and Steffen Patzold (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003).

and overlapping themes which serve to unite the contributions. One of these is the issue of imperial and princely self-representation. As we have seen, this was the abiding interest of the great early to mid-twentieth-century historians epitomized by Schramm, whose work on Otto III famously used texts and images to compile a coherent ideological programme which he thought originated at court. However, in accordance with the intellectual trends we have already explained, historians are now much less confident in the utility and accuracy of such stately and static reconstructions of images of rulership.[35] Placed in their individual contexts (as far as we can reconstruct them) and interpreted on their own terms, the texts, images, and artefacts which were thought to make up these ideological programmes reveal a far more complex picture of political power than was once envisaged. In this picture, the exercise of power is often revealed as something which was contingent, precarious, and constantly open to challenge. Thus, Goldberg shows how Queen Emma's ostentatious claim to particular virtues which were known to underwrite the power of Carolingian queens was in fact made in response to a pressing need to defend herself against potential accusations of infidelity and dishonour. Indeed, as Weiler underlines in his analysis of the relationship between Frederick II and his son Henry in 1235–36, grand acts of self-representation were often a direct result of some threat to a ruler's authority. Similarly, Freed's study of the twelfth-century *Codex Falkensteinensis* reveals that this impressive statement of lordly power owes its very existence to the doubts and insecurities of its patron. As Bojcov demonstrates, even such a detailed text as the late medieval oath-book from Trier must be read not as a transparent description of episcopal power, but at least in part as an attempt to assert, legalize, and normalize that power against potential opponents. Meanwhile, Bernhardt's analysis of tenth- and eleventh-century ruler portraits breaks down any lingering sense of Ottonian dynastic power as founded on a consistent and well-defined set of political ideals by showing how the political messages encoded in such images shifted and were reconfigured in response to changing circumstances and competing ideological positions. Rigorous reconstruction of context thus suggests that the surviving texts and images which served as self-representations of princely power often have to be considered less as static and compelling expressions of authority than as strategic responses to challenge and weakness.

Of course, not all symbolic representations of power correlated straightforwardly with a current and pressing political situation. This is complicated by the fact that they often represented a version of the past rather than symbolizing a contemporary ruler. Bagge, Jones, and Ashcroft suggest how images of authority might thus be conditioned not only by strategic calculation, but also by literary conventions, social memory, and the intellectual parameters of their architects.

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[35] See, for example, Görich, *Otto III., Romanus Saxonicus et Italicus*; David Warner, 'Ideals and Action in the Reign of Otto III', *JMH*, 25 (1999), 1–18.

In any case, whether we are dealing with texts, images, or artefacts, one central problem constantly confronts the historian trying to access the self-representation of princes and other rulers: how can we know how contemporaries reacted to and understood these messages? This problem is perhaps best illustrated with reference to ruler portraits, whose artists were usually anonymous and whose provenance makes their relationship with royal courts difficult to pin down. With regard to such images in tenth- and eleventh-century Germany, Adam Cohen and Ludger Körntgen have highlighted some key problems with traditional analyses of their painters' intent.[36] Did the iconography of imperial power really promote the sacral underpinnings of Ottonian and Salian rulership, or were these artefacts in fact produced independently? If the latter, then the images may be best understood not as representations of power which reflected the ideology of the political centre, but rather as pious responses *to* such representations. Alternatively, they could be interpreted as programmatic statements of how outside observers thought the ruler *should* be represented or should behave. Similar notes of caution have been sounded with regard to written sources: how can we separate out the intended ideological meaning of rulers' public comportment from the contaminating agendas and limitations of the authors through whose works we learn about them?[37] These are fundamental questions which go to the heart of conventional interpretations of medieval politics and threaten to destabilize them completely.

However, the thrust of the debate need not be reduced to a simple polarized choice between, on the one hand, the traditional conception of images of power as projections from the political centre and, on the other, an ultrasceptical revisionist position which denies that such images, as they survive, had anything much at all to do with the self-representation of rulers. As Henry Mayr-Harting has argued, the truth generally lies somewhere in between.[38] For example, the itinerant nature of early medieval kingship meant that the Ottonian and Salian kings had frequent contact with the monasteries where images of their majesty were conceived and drawn, and they arguably shared with the aristocratic monks a common view of the political and religious order. In this context, the need to establish a direct link between the image and the royal court itself might seem to become less pressing. A concrete example of this ideological sharing from the Carolingian period may be seen in Louis the Pious's great capitulary of 825, which enshrined a particular view of rulership as the shared responsibility of the emperor, his family, and the office-holders of the

[36] Adam Cohen, *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy, and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany* (University Park: Pennnsylvania State University Press, 2000); Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade*.

[37] Buc, *Dangers of Ritual*; Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade*.

[38] Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, 2nd edn (London: Harvey Miller, 1999), pp. 1–2.

empire.[39] Capitularies, notoriously, were prescriptive documents which arguably reveal no more to the historian than the narrow ideological outlook of the court. Yet we know that the set of political ideas expressed in this example did reflect the understanding of imperial power in the wider political community. A Bible drawn by artists at a monastery in Tours under the sponsorship of the local count in the reign of Louis's son contains images of the King surrounded by his men which appear to represent a very similar conception of the political order to that contained in the 825 capitulary.[40]

Arguably, then, representations of political power were formed as part of a dialectic involving an exchange of ideas, or a shared worldview, between the political centre and its satellites. This dialectic is a central concern for many of the essays in this volume, which seek to identify a methodological middle ground. At times, the nature of the evidence suggests at least a degree of harmony between rulers' ideas of themselves and the perceptions of the ruled. Thus Goetz suggests how we might use the Astronomer's biography of Louis the Pious to reveal widely held perceptions of royal power and the 'state' from a 'bottom-up' perspective, while Brown charts the relationship between the shifting messages of court ideology and the activity of the early ninth-century scribes at the church of Freising. Yet at the same time, as Brown shows, the creativity of the Freising scribes underlines the fluidity of this relationship. Furthermore, as Warner argues, this fluidity could break down into an almost complete disjuncture between the ideas projected by the court and the way that those ideas were perceived and represented by outsiders. This has, as he shows, potentially fundamental implications for the way that historical narrative is written. Mapping the exact contours of this relationship between projection and perception is therefore important, and where it can be done successfully, the conclusions do not necessarily all point in the same direction. By addressing these and related issues, whether explicitly or implicitly, all of the contributions to this volume involve methodological discussions which have implications beyond the terms of any individual case study.

To study the representation of power in the Middle Ages is therefore to open oneself up to a whole series of methodological problems and queries. The successful reconstruction of context and audience for texts, rituals, images, and artefacts is fraught with difficulties. Newer ways of approaching problems of intent and audience must be married to application of the more traditional tools of source criticism. Above all, we must remember that representations of power are never divorced from the stuff of 'real' politics. As Cohn, Bojcov, and others show, the study of rituals,

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[39] Olivier Guillot, 'Une "ordinatio" méconnue: Le capitulaire de 823–825', in *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)*, ed. by Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 455–86.

[40] Paul Dutton and Herbert Kessler, *The Poetry and Paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997); Régine Le Jan, 'Frankish Giving of Arms and Rituals of Power: Continuity and Change in the Carolingian Period', in *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Frans Theuws and Janet Nelson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 281–309.

texts, and images is useful because they provide an entry point into the analysis of relationships between powerful groups and individuals in the past. The history of the representation of power is thus also the history of power itself: of its construction, maintenance, and relationship to political circumstances. The methodological problems presented by our sources should therefore be embraced and confronted. They do not constitute an impasse: they are starting points for discussion rather than dead ends. If this book contributes in some way to the furthering of this discussion, then it will have fulfilled its purpose.

The Perception of 'Power' and 'State' in the Early Middle Ages: The Case of the Astronomer's 'Life of Louis the Pious'

HANS-WERNER GOETZ

By analysing the perception of the state in the Early Middle Ages on the part of contemporary chroniclers (or, actually, by one medieval historian), I am adopting a comparatively new approach. Before making a few epistemological remarks on this approach and then giving an example of its application, it might be helpful to start with a brief historiographical introduction to the development of German research on the medieval state and constitution. This is addressed in particular to non-German readers who may be less acquainted with this subject, and who can often find it difficult to understand the endless debate on *Herrschaft* and *Gefolgschaft*, or 'lordship' and 'retinue', as one might say in English, though in fact it is really impossible to translate these German terms adequately into any other language.[1]

As is well known, traditional modern historical studies, following the 'historicism' of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were mainly concerned with politics, law, and constitution, thus focusing to a great extent on the 'state' (and the monarch). Although this statement may be true for all historical studies of those times, it seems to be particularly appropriate to German historiography, whose focus remained the 'state' right into the 1970s. However, there was a significant historiographical shift from the early twentieth century and particularly from the 1930s onwards.[2] This shift

[1] A more comprehensive survey of the development of medieval constitutional history is given in my book *Moderne Mediävistik: Stand und Perspektiven der Mittelalterforschung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999), pp. 174–224. This theme will be dealt with more extensively in a forthcoming volume *Staat im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. by Stuart Airlie, Walter Pohl, and Helmut Reimitz, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 11 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006).

[2] Actually, this shift coincides with the period of the 'Third Reich', which poses a problem because, although regretfully only fairly recently, we have become much more critical of

originated in a reaction against the legalistic historical research of the years around 1900, which was deeply influenced by legal historians. The result was a perspective that sought to draw its conclusions from all relevant sources (a line of research for which Georg Waitz had already prepared the invaluable groundwork in his *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*).[3]

This so-called 'New German Constitutional History' (*Neue Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*) of the 1930s dominated medieval studies until the 1970s, and it was 'new' indeed. Concerning themselves with the character of the 'early medieval state', historians of this period concluded that the state was actually defined by 'lordship' (*Herrschaft*), comprehended as an abstract term. Even more than this, the state itself was understood as being *Herrschaft*. The terms 'state' and '*Herrschaft*/lordship' thus became identical.[4] This assumption was explicitly based on the observation that Old German glosses (sometimes) translated *res publica* with *hertuôm*, *Herrschaft*, but it was influenced even more by an ideological presupposition that *Herrschaft* and *Gefolgschaft* somehow formed the ideal state.[5] *Herrschaft* had many forms (such as royal or aristocratic authority, territorial, seigneurial, ecclesiastical power, or court authority) which, however, all stemmed from the *Hausherrschaft*, the 'domination of the household' (a view successfully contested later on by the legal historian Karl Kroeschell).[6] This was the dominant explanatory metaphor: even the administration of the realm was considered as an extended *Hausherrschaft*.

Prior even to this, Theodor Mayer had presented his equally influential doctrine that the early medieval state was a *Personenverbandsstaat*, characterized by a necessary collaboration between the king and his 'followers' (as a *Herrschaftsverband*, a federation of those who were entitled to power) and defined by personal instead of institutional bonds.[7] This meant that, in contrast to the monarchic historiography of

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some of the most renowned medievalists of that period. These include Theodor Mayer and Otto Brunner who were indeed involved in Nazi politics, though I do not think that we can detect any particular connection with their academic work; it is more significant that nearly all historians of that period were nationalists whether they were Nazis or not.

[3] Georg Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, 8 vols (vols I–II, 3rd edn, Berlin: Weidmann, 1880–82; vols III–IV, 2nd edn, Berlin: Weidmann, 1883–85; vols V–VI, 2nd edn, Kiel: Hammann, 1893–96; vols VII–VIII, Kiel: Hammann, 1876–78; repr. 1953–55).

[4] The most significant articles are collected in *Herrschaft und Staat im Mittelalter*, ed. by Hellmut Kämpf, Wege der Forschung, 2 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1956).

[5] It was Walter Schlesinger who articulated the most influential expression of this 'discovery'. Walter Schlesinger, 'Herrschaft und Gefolgschaft in der germanisch-deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte' (1953), in *Herrschaft und Staat*, ed. by Kämpf, pp. 135–90.

[6] Karl Kroeschell, *Haus und Herrschaft im frühen deutschen Recht: Ein methodischer Versuch*, Göttinger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien, 70 (Göttingen: Schwartz, 1968).

[7] Theodor Mayer, 'Die Ausbildung der Grundlagen des modernen deutschen Staates im hohen Mittelalter' (1939), in *Herrschaft und Staat*, ed. by Kämpf, pp. 284–331, particularly pp. 289–90.

the nineteenth century, the king was not the only one responsible for making history, which may be seen as one of the insights of this approach which still holds today. Consequently, there was a shift in focus from the king to the nobility (which in itself was in possession of *Herrschaft* or public authority, which was gradually but not principally distinguished from the authority of the king). Accordingly, the nobility was now regarded as a partner with equal rights rather than as an opponent to the king; the state was an 'aristocracy with a monarchic peak'. Consequently, from the 1950s onwards and inspired by Gerd Tellenbach's representation of a 'Carolingian imperial aristocracy', research changed its focus from an individual perspective to (collective) prosopographical studies. At the same time, this doctrine rekindled the long discussion as to whether the political order of the Early Middle Ages might, at that stage, truly be called a 'state' at all. Theodor Mayer discovered the origins of the (modern) 'state' in the late medieval territories, with a shift from personal bonds to territorial boundaries. (Nowadays, when searching for the origins of the modern state, one would rather turn to the West European monarchies.) In other words, the 'New German Constitutional History' contributed to an awareness that the early medieval state had to be regarded in its contemporary context. At the same time, however, it refuted the state-like character of early medieval kingdoms, a tradition that has influenced German medievalists until today. This is particularly true with regard to the Ottonian Empire which is considered, for example, as an 'institution without institutions', based on personal bonds (Hagen Keller),[8] or as a 'kingship without state' (Gerd Althoff).[9] (In order to avoid misunderstandings it should be pointed out that personally, I do not like these characterizations, but prefer to understand 'state' as a more or less neutral expression for the whole political order and to understand the personal bonds as a specifically medieval form of 'institution'.)

A second doctrine of the 'New German Constitutional History' resulted from the assumption that all these elements were genuinely 'Germanic' and led to a disregard or even to a denial of Roman elements in the Roman successor states (which nowadays are widely emphasized again). Such an assumption is, of course, no longer tolerable today, when there is complete uncertainty about what 'Germanic' actually means.[10] At the same time we have been made more aware of the long process of a transformation of the Roman world, of the similarities between Germanic and non-Germanic successor states, and of the fact that the beginnings of many changes can

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[8] Hagen Keller, 'Reichsorganisation, Herrschaftsformen und Gesellschaftsstrukturen im Regnum Teutonicum', in *Il secolo di ferro: mito et realtà del secolo X*, Settimane, 38 (1991), pp. 159–95 (p. 167); Hagen Keller, 'Zum Charakter der "Staatlichkeit" zwischen karolingischer Reichsreform und hochmittelalterlichem Herrschaftsaufbau', *FMST*, 23 (1989), 248–64.

[9] Gerd Althoff, *Die Ottonen: Königsherrschaft ohne Staat* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000).

[10] Compare Walter Pohl, *Die Germanen*, Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte, 57 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2000), particularly pp. 1–3 and 45–47.

even be traced back as far as the Late Antique Empire.[11] Other assumptions of the *Neue Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte* have become equally obsolete nowadays. One example is the doctrine of the 'king's freemen', developed by Heinrich Dannenbauer and Theodor Mayer and further elaborated by Karl Bosl. This proposed that the *liberi homines* of the sources were really dependants living on the king's territory and therefore, in a paradoxical phrase of Karl Bosl's, were 'free unfree people': dependant, though somehow privileged.[12]

Although the ideological and contemporary background of these approaches is well known today (even though this understanding only dates back a number of years),[13] their impact on German medieval historiography can still be felt. There is no doubt that they granted insights into important features of the early medieval state (including the significance of *Herrschaft* as the essential element of its nature, even though, as František Graus pointed out, this was interpreted in a sense that was far too idealistic). Their great mistake, however, besides their Germanophile and nationalistic ideology, was that the observations were generalized and squeezed into a schematic system that actually does not correspond to early medieval reality. Yet the lasting influence of this approach was assured by the very fact that constitutional history is no longer the core of medieval studies. Current textbooks, in the absence of new research, repeat the old doctrines. We are consequently still debating whether or not there was in the Early Middle Ages a 'state' or a concept of 'state'.[14]

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[11] Compare the volumes of 'The Transformation of the Roman World' (TRW) series; with regard to the political order particularly: *Kingdoms of the Empire: The Integration of Barbarians in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Walter Pohl, TRW, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1997); *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800*, ed. by Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz, TRW, 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1998); *The Transformation of Frontiers: From Late Antiquity to the Carolingians*, ed. by Walter Pohl, Ian Wood, and Helmut Reimitz, TRW, 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2001); *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Richard Corradini, Maximilian Diesenberger, and Helmut Reimitz, TRW, 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2003); *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, ed. by Hans-Werner Goetz, Jörg Jarnut, and Walter Pohl, TRW, 13 (Leiden: Brill, 2003). See also *Integration und Herrschaft: Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter*, ed. by Walter Pohl and Maximilian Diesenberger (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002).

[12] A brief survey of the discussion (with literary evidence) is given in Hans-Werner Goetz, *Das frühe Mittelalter*, Handbuch der Geschichte Europas, 2 (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 2003), pp. 319–20.

[13] Compare František Graus, 'Verfassungsgeschichte des Mittelalters', *HZ*, 243 (1986), 529–89.

[14] There has been a discussion between Johannes Fried and myself: whereas Fried denies that there was a 'concept of state' in the ninth century since there was no 'state', I do indeed think that there was a conscious conception of a political order which I call 'state', thus rejecting the question if there was a 'state' or not, in favour of analysing the specific character of this early medieval political order. I shall return to this point below. Compare Johannes

Whereas Western European research has been inquiring into 'power' (or 'pouvoir') on all levels of society for a long time,[15] and constitutional history in France seems to be gaining a new topicality after having been neglected for decades by the *Annales*-historiography, German medieval research on the state (or rather part of it) has also taken a new turn. Significant for recent approaches are inquiries into the 'reality' of the political order and the way it actually functioned in practice by searching for the 'mechanisms' behind political actions and behaviour. This includes a decisive shift of perspective from law to custom, from 'lordship' (*Herrschaft*) to 'power' (*Macht*), from legal norms to legal practice, from laws to 'rules', and from political structures to the representation, symbolism, ritual, or even 'performance' of power.[16] In other words, the early medieval 'constitution' is turning into an object of 'culture'. The best-known and most significant German approach is that of Gerd Althoff and his theory of the settlement of conflicts according to 'unwritten laws' and in a sort of mise en scène that, with the assistance of mediators, was carefully prepared and pre-arranged. Althoff sees this as part of a 'non-verbal communication' (which is neither written nor oral) in a system stamped by symbolic and ritualistic behaviour in an 'oral society', and thus as an important factor of the 'representation of power'.[17] Althoff speaks of an 'omnipresence' and of the great importance of signs and of ritual behaviour in the public communication of the Middle Ages, which was interested in demonstration rather than discussion. These perceptions represent an important enrichment of our views on the early medieval state.

Fried, 'Der karolingische Herrschaftsverband im 9. Jahrhundert zwischen "Kirche" und "Königshaus"', *HZ*, 235 (1982), 1–43; Hans-Werner Goetz, '*Regnum*: Zum politischen Denken der Karolingerzeit', *ZSRG (GA)*, 104 (1987), 110–89; Johannes Fried, '*Gens* und *regnum*: Wahrnehmungs- und Deutungskategorien politischen Wandels im früheren Mittelalter; Bemerkungen zur doppelten Theoriebindung des Historikers', in *Sozialer Wandel im Mittelalter: Wahrnehmungsformen, Erklärungsmuster, Regelungsmechanismen*, ed. by Jürgen Miethke and Klaus Schreiner (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994), pp. 73–104.

[15] Good examples are two collections of articles edited by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre: *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Compare also *Pouvoirs et libertés aux temps des premiers Capétiens*, ed. by Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier (Maulévrier: Editions Hérault, 1992).

[16] Compare already Janet L. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1986).

[17] Compare Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997) (and a great deal of further articles); most recently Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003). For a critique of the theory of a 'ritualistic' epoch, see Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

The shift of perspective in contemporary research towards anthropological factors, however, has gone even farther, since we are not only investigating human behaviour, but also human views and conceptions, interpretations and perceptions. On a more structural level, we are interested in the 'view of the world' (*Vorstellungswelten*) and patterns of perception: that is, not only how things happened, but how people saw them happen. This represents a shift in interest from historical events (*res gestae*) towards historiographical narration (*narratio rerum gestarum*) and its underlying human perceptions and imaginings, and at the same time, a shift from the evidence as testimony (the 'source') to the witness himself who has created this testimony. This means a decisive transition in focus from history as a process to the human beings within this process. Consequently, the (written) report has to be taken very seriously and analysed according to its wording, its narrative structures, and the underlying thoughts it represents.

Of course, this is not a completely new approach but has always been part of traditional source criticism (*Quellenkritik*). However, it is now seen in a much broader perspective than formerly, and in addition it is analysed as an end in itself. With regard to the 'state', two 'forerunners' of this approach should be particularly mentioned. One is the 'theory of state' (or political thinking), which, as part of the history of ideas, has always been an important field of investigation, though not so much in Germany as in Western Europe. Naturally, this approach includes only the highest levels of political thought. Moreover, the Early Middle Ages have almost been completely neglected or merely dealt with briefly in general surveys. The other approach is Helmut Beumann's concept of a 'history of political ideas', focusing particularly on the concept of kingdom, but dealing, for example, also with the beginnings of a 'transpersonal conception of the state' (which Beumann did not see come about until the early eleventh century in Wipo's famous episode on the palace of Pavia).[18] What is important is the fact that Beumann 'made use of' chronicles as witnesses for political ideas. Until recently this tradition has been focusing on certain questions and traditional conceptions or theories, such as the beginning of transpersonal thinking, the king's 'sacrality', or the *Herrschaftsverband*. These themes have to be expanded to a far greater degree and have to be integrated into the whole system of human thought. Although Beumann's (and other) works deliver important contributions on the path towards a history of human political thinking, they do not really, or at most only implicitly, look into the contemporary perception of the state, which, in the final analysis, is also responsible for the way power was put into force and, above all, its reception by the people involved. What is actually new, therefore,

[18] Compare Helmut Beumann, 'Die Historiographie des Mittelalters als Quelle für die Ideengeschichte des Königstums' (1955), reprinted with further pertinent articles, in Helmut Beumann, *Wissenschaft vom Mittelalter: Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1972), pp. 201–40; Helmut Beumann, 'Zur Entwicklung transpersonaler Staatsvorstellungen', in *Das Königtum: Seine geistigen und rechtlichen Grundlagen*, Vorträge und Forschungen, 3 (Lindau: Thorbecke, 1956), pp. 185–224.

is that we are inquiring into these things for the sake of studying human thinking as such. In spite of the mass of (older and recent) work on political conceptions this is a field which so far has not been dealt with in a systematic and comprehensive manner.

To make the specific character of this approach clear I would like to insert some brief methodological comments (Figure 1).[19] The main problem is well known and has long been the centre of source criticism: namely, the relationship between the 'fact' (F) (that is, what 'really' happened, but can never be completely recognizable for historians) — and by 'fact' I mean any event, situation, or condition in the past or present of our sources (including human thinking) — on the one hand, and on the other hand the 'report' or 'account' of this fact in our sources, which we can call the 'representation' (R), or 'narrative'. Both are not identical, of course, because the authors did not write down what actually happened but what they thought or believed (or even wanted) to have happened, thus creating a difference, as it were, between 'history' and 'story' (the historical relation, or narrative). Although this is now well known, it is nevertheless still not sufficiently observed in the actual analysis of historical facts. Meanwhile, we should be well aware that it is not only the notorious 'bias' of the author which is responsible for this difference, but rather a complex sequence of influences of which the most important will be presented in the following.

First, the historical 'fact' (which is to be reported later on) is 'perceived' by the narrator (or by someone who told him about it, or by someone who told someone who told him, and so on, or who wrote it down in a work that was read and quoted or retold by our narrator). For the time being, this is a 'sensual perception' (P_s), either the visual perception of an eye-witness or the acoustic perception of someone to whom it is told or, again, the optical perception of a reader who receives his knowledge from books, which, despite the recent interest in oral traditions, is still the normal case with regard to medieval sources. This 'sensual' perception, however, is immediately influenced, directed, conceived, and interpreted by the resources of our intellectual background, knowledge, experience, and imagination. This is why, as is well known, the same object or scene is perceived very differently by different witnesses. This is important. It is only by this human 'imagery' or by these human 'conceptions' (C) (which may be called *Vorstellungswelt* in German) that our 'sensual perception' will turn into a 'conscious perception' (P_c). In my opinion, therefore, this 'imagery' (or 'conception') is the most important object of historical analysis.

If we now follow the line that leads us from the perception to the narration of events, we ought to remember that our memory fails us — it does so increasingly depending on how much time has passed, on how often we have told our 'story', and the number of variations the narration has undergone. This adds further changes in

[19] A more extensive version of the following theoretical remarks is given in Hans-Werner Goetz, 'Wahrnehmungs- und Deutungsmuster als methodisches Problem der Geschichtswissenschaft', in *Wahrnehmungs- und Deutungsmuster im Mittelalter*, ed. by Hartmut Bleumer and Steffen Patzold, *Das Mittelalter*, 8 (2003), 23–33.

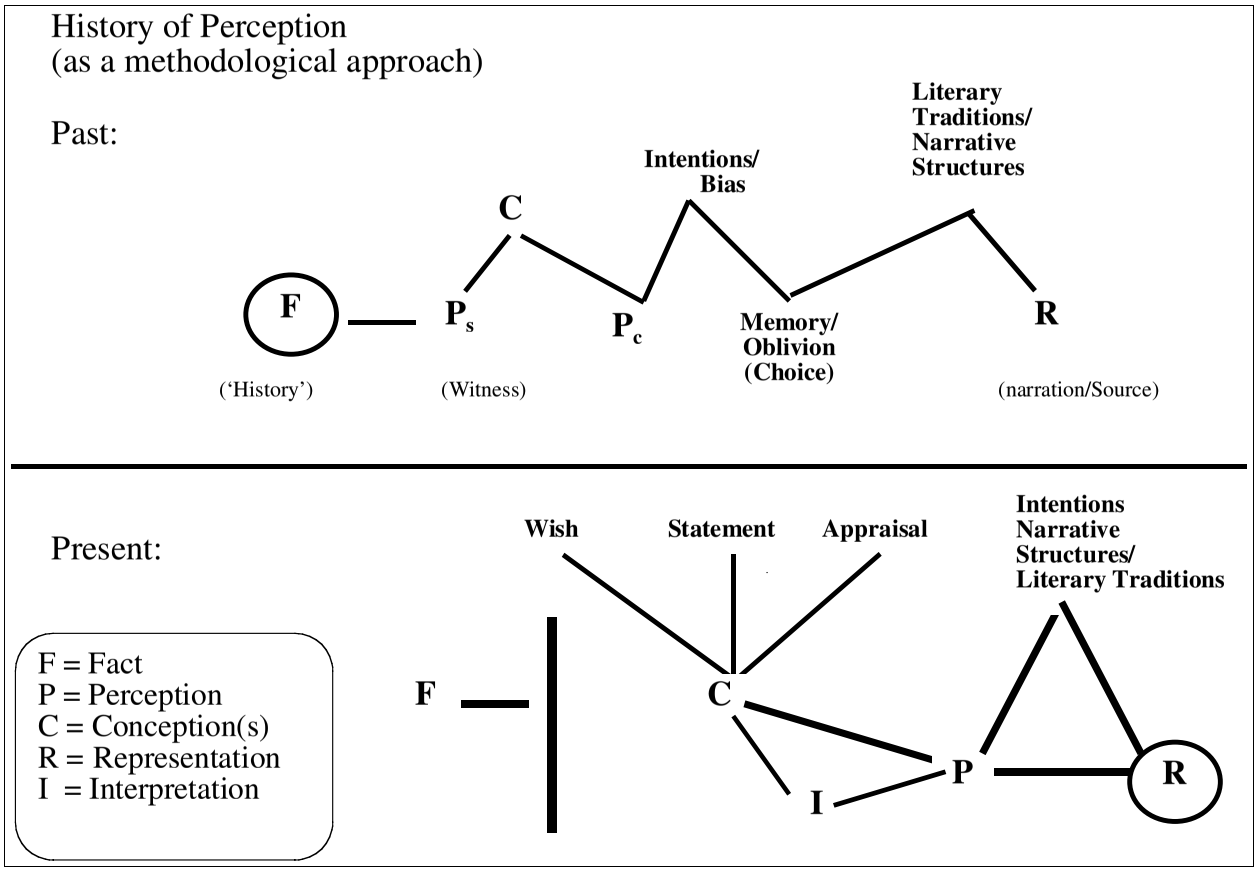
History of Perception
(as a methodological approach)
Past:
Literary
Traditions/
Narrative
Structures
Intentions/
Bias
C
F
P_s
P_c
Memory/
Oblivion
(Choice)
R
('History')
(Witness)
(narration/Source)
Present:
Wish
Statement
Appraisal
Intentions
Narrative
Structures/
Literary Traditions
F = Fact
P = Perception
C = Conception(s)
R = Representation
I = Interpretation
F
C
P
R
I

Figure 1.

the memorized perception due to oblivion[20] and 'distortions', a field that was 'discovered' by German historians some time ago and has been applied to historiography particularly with regard to the 'distortion' effected on a report that is based on oral traditions.[21] (Note that I do not like the term 'distortion' in this context because it implies that we are still searching for some original truth and not for human conceptions; actually, in the latter case, according to the approach presented here, we are analysing exactly this 'distortion' itself which is created by far more factors than that of oral tradition alone.) Finally, the process of writing down our 'memorized perceptions' is influenced by further elements: first, by the knowledge and capacity (and education) of the author as well as his intentions (including his 'bias'); and second, by linguistic and literary traditions (for example, the genre, or stylistic patterns). Consequently, all historiography is to some extent 'fictitious' (in the way described so far), but it is, of course, not complete fiction, because it always refers to some historical event, or 'fact'. Moreover, as I have said before, the chroniclers' conceptions are themselves 'historical facts'.

Whenever we, as historians, now (on the level of the present in the lower part of the diagram) trace back this sequence in order to analyse, from the text which is handed down, the inherent 'messages' which indicate the author's thought, 'conception', and 'imagery', we have to take account of all these elements including the narrative structures. Whereas earlier research did this (though only partially and far less comprehensively) in order to retrace the historical 'facts' (and, of course, we may continue doing this), the approach we are concerned with here is not interested in 'reconstructing events', but stops beforehand (as symbolized by the black beam in

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[20] Compare, for example, Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*: *Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millenium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); most recently Johannes Fried, *Der Schleier der Erinnerung: Grundzüge einer historischen Memorik* (Munich: Beck, 2004).

[21] Compare Gerd Althoff, 'Verformungen durch mündliche Tradition: Geschichten über Erzbischof Hatto von Mainz', in *Iconologia Sacra: Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas. Festschrift Karl Hauck zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. by Hagen Keller and Nikolaus Staubach, Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung, 23 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), pp. 438–50; Johannes Fried, 'Die Königserhebung Heinrichs I. Erinnerung, Mündlichkeit und Traditionsbildung im 10. Jahrhundert', in *Mittelalterforschung nach der Wende 1989*, ed. by Michael Borgolte, Historische Zeitschrift, Beiheft, n.s., 20 (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1995), pp. 267–318; Johannes Fried, 'The Veil of Memory: Anthropological Problems When Considering the Past', German Historical Institute London, The 1997 Annual Lecture (London: German Historical Institute, 1998); Johannes Fried, 'Erinnerung und Vergessen: Die Gegenwart stiftet die Einheit der Vergangenheit', *HZ*, 273 (2001), 561–93. A critical survey of this discussion is now given by Johannes Laudage, 'Widukind von Corvey und die deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft', in *Von Fakten und Fiktionen: Mittelalterliche Geschichtsdarstellungen und ihre kritische Aufarbeitung*, ed. by Johannes Laudage, Europäische Geschichtsdarstellungen, 1 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), pp. 193–224.

the diagram). Here, we are interested in analysing the author's view of things. This should not, however, be considered to stand in opposition to 'historical reality': indeed, it is part of it. It is an 'intellectual reality', and as such not an unimportant part of human existence.

By applying this 'method' to the early medieval state, that is, how people (in this case, chroniclers) perceived and conceived the 'state' (or the political order) of their times, we open up a series of questions. Which terms are used to represent a political order? Which are the underlying notions? Which 'organs' (such as king, councils, administration) and means were perceived as being most important, and how did they work together? How is the actual functioning of this system perceived? And, after the long discussion about an early medieval 'state', we have to ask even more fundamentally: Was there a conscious idea of the contemporary political body at all? If so, how was it assessed? Furthermore, was the 'report' of our narrator meant as a statement, an (ideal) wish, or a critical appraisal? What was criticized, what simply noted? What was the 'ideal state'? And how are these concepts incorporated into the whole (probably theological) view of the world and of the process of history?

In this context, I shall provide just one (examplary) case study, concentrating on one single author, in order to illustrate this line of research. Elsewhere, I have dealt with Nithard and Notker in a similar context.[22] Here, I have chosen the so-called Astronomer, one of the two biographers of Emperor Louis the Pious (814–40), who wrote his work shortly after Louis's death, at the end of 840 or the beginning of 841.[23] Instead of answering all the questions quoted above in detail, I would like to

[22] Hans-Werner Goetz, 'Die Wahrnehmung von "Staat" und "Herrschaft" im frühen Mittelalter', in *Staat im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. by Airlie, Pohl, and Reimitz (forthcoming).

[23] Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, ed. by Ernst Tremp, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 64 (Hannover: Hahn, 1995). Throughout, all quotations of the *Vita* will be taken from this edition. For the criticism of sources and the manuscripts, see Ernst Tremp, *Die Überlieferung der Vita Hludowici imperatoris des Astronomus*, MGH Studien und Texte, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1991); Ernst Tremp, 'Thegan and Astronomus, die beiden Geschichtsschreiber Ludwigs des Frommen', in *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)*, ed. by Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 691–700. See also Wolfgang Tenberken, *Die Vita Hludowici Pii auctore Astronomo: Einleitung und Edition* (Rottweil, 1982). For the author and his conceptions, see Helena Siemes, 'Beiträge zum literarischen Bild Kaiser Ludwigs des Frommen in der Karolingerzeit' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Freiburg/Breisgau, 1966), pp. 18–105; particularly Ernst Tremp, 'Zwischen *Stabilitas* und *Mutatio Regni*: Herrschafts- und Staatsauffassungen im Umkreis Ludwigs des Frommen', in *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (du début du IX^e aux environs de 920)*, ed. by Régine le Jan (Lille: Centre d'Histoire de l'Europe du Nord-Ouest, 1998), pp. 111–27, who pursues a similar question, though in a significantly different manner. For the date, see Tenberken, *Vita*, pp. 42–44. Philippe Depreux, 'Poètes et historiens au temps de l'empereur Louis le Pieux', *Le Moyen Âge*, 99 (1993), 311–32, particularly pp. 318–20, defends the originality of the *Vita* with regard to its sources (against Tenberken).

'condense' them and concentrate on one general question: what are the author's notions of a 'state'? Since there is not enough space to provide a detailed analysis, I shall simply quote the results (or at least some of them) in the form of brief statements illustrated by quotations from the text.

1. The first and perhaps most important conclusion is the fact that the Astronomer, who was probably writing for Charles the Bald,[24] obviously had a clear and conscious notion of the political order of his time which he called a 'state' (*res publica*), both in terms of what it was and of what it should be. In order to prove this statement we need only briefly examine a few passages. In the very beginning of his *Vita Hludowici*, the Astronomer justifies his writings. We read there that it is useful (*utilitas*) in a twofold manner to commemorate the good and evil deeds of former times and particularly of the 'princes' (*principes*): It is both edifying and a warning (for the present) because the obligation of the princes is likened to a watch tower built on such a high mound that it can be perceived from all sides, both as an attraction and as a 'role model' for those who see it.[25] Consequently, there is a social (and political) hierarchy, and those who are at the top have the obligation of setting an example.[26] The Astronomer wants to follow the tradition of his predecessors (and their *monumenta maiorum*) by describing the deeds and life of Louis the Pious who was loved by God (*Deo amabilis*) and an orthodox believer. Certainly, his work is neither a political treatise nor a so-called 'mirror for princes',[27] but nevertheless it has a political target, dealing as it does with an emperor and thus inevitably with the state. It was certainly also intended to be an admonition, being written at a time when the Frankish Empire was greatly afflicted by the wars and conflicts between the Emperor's sons (and many references to later events, given in a preview, allude to these afflictions).[28]

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[24] Compare Tremp, *Überlieferung*, pp. 128–30. The distribution of the manuscripts is restricted entirely to the west Frankish kingdom. I am not participating in the long discussion of identifying the Astronomer who was recently, though with some reservations, claimed to be Hilduin of Saint-Denis (Tremp, *Überlieferung*, pp. 144–46).

[25] *Vita Hludowici*, prol., p. 281: 'Cum gesta priscorum bona malave, maxime principum, ad memoriam reducuntur, gemina in eis utilitas legentibus confertur: alia enim eorum utilitati et aedificationi prosunt, alia cautelae. Quia enim primi in sublimi veluti specula consistunt et ideo latere nequeunt, eo fama eorum latius propagatur, quo et diffusius cernitur, et tanto quique illorum bono plurimi allicuntur, quanto preminentiores se imitari gloriantur.'

[26] Accordingly, Louis the Pious made sure that 'quisque ordo hominum ordini suo iusta persolveret' (*Vita Hludowici*, prol., p. 282).

[27] Tenberken, *Vita*, p. 42, calls the *Vita* a kind of mirror for princes.

[28] Compare (generally) Matthew Innes and Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Writing of History', in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 193–220 (p. 217): 'There is an urgent political purpose in the interpretation of contemporary events.'

Like other authors, the Astronomer compares this state with a human body which falls ill unless it is protected by counsel and strength.[29] In fact, this interpretation of the so-called 'organological theory of the state'[30] implies a certain understanding of the political order, which has to be further considered in the following. It includes a public task, namely *cura regni*, care and custody of the kingdom, particularly guarding the borders (that is, the defence of the realm from exterior attacks) and providing sustenance within the kingdom. It equally includes the people who were taking care of the state besides the king. In this example it was the bishops, abbots, counts, and vassals whom Charlemagne sent out to accompany the young Louis to his kingdom in Aquitaine. Historically, we notice here a good example of governing a conquered territory by means of the so-called 'Frankish imperial nobility' (*Fränkische Reichsaristokratie*), Frankish officials being sent to a recently reconquered Aquitaine. At the same time, however, and in our context, these words are proof that a clear conception of the state and government existed. The state should be in 'good order' (which, again, implies a conscious concept of this order): before his death, Charlemagne was haunted by the notion that he might leave the kingdom, which God had granted him in good order, in a disorderly condition.[31] This will become even clearer in the following. It implies that there was not only a notion of a 'state', but also a clear idea of what an ideal state should be, an aspect I shall return to below.

2. If there was a notion of the 'state', it follows that a corresponding terminology should exist (otherwise it would be impossible to talk or write about it), and I emphasize this because, as I have already indicated, there are tendencies in recent German historiography to deny the existence of adequate contemporary terms to describe the actual political order of the Carolingian period. The common term used to name the most important political order, for the Astronomer and his contemporaries, was, of course, *regnum*, which implies that a monarchy was perceived as the 'normal' form

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[29] *Vita Hludowici* 3, p. 290: 'Sciens porro rex sapientissimus et perspicacissimus Karolus, regnum esse veluti corpus quoddam et nunc isto, nunc illo incommodo iactari, nisi consilio et fortitudine velut quibusdam medicis sanitas accepta tutetur, episcopos quidem modo quo oportuit sibi devinxit. Ordinavit autem per totam Aquitaniam comites abbatesque necnon alios plurimos, quos vassos vulgo vocant, ex gente Francorum, quorum prudentiae et fortitudini nulli calliditate, nulli vi obviare fuerit tutum, eisque commisit curam regni, prout utile iudicavit, finium tutamen villarumque regiarum ruralem provisionem.' The image of 'illness' is repeated several times; compare Tremp, '*Stabilitas*', p. 120.

[30] Compare Tilman Struve, *Die Entwicklung der organologischen Staatsauffassung im Mittelalter*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 16 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1978).

[31] *Vita Hludowici* 20, p. 342: 'Interea imperator Karolus considerans suum in senectute adclinem devexum, et verens ne forte subtractus rebus humanis confusum relinqueret regnum, quod erat Deo donante nobiliter ordinatum, scilicet ne aut externis quateretur procellis aut intestinis vexaretur scissionibus, misit filiumque ab Aquitania evocavit.' The dangers, therefore, are external afflictions and internal divisions. Of course, this is said with knowledge of what was to come.

of public authority. Nevertheless, *regnum* was not exclusively confined to a king (*rex*) but had such comprehensive and adaptable connotations that, in a former article, I suggested it to be the common expression for the early medieval state.[32] Actually, *regnum* in the *Vita Hludowici* covers most of the same meanings and appears in similar contexts as in other writers of those times. It has a personal connotation, being *proprium regnum* (the king's own kingdom),[33] and an ethnic connotation as *regnum Francorum* (the kingdom of the Franks);[34] it covers a territory with fixed borders, which can be divided into parts;[35] and, finally, it also has the 'abstract' meaning of 'public power', or *Herrschaft*, from which one could be expelled or into which one could be reappointed.[36] All these elements would correspond to a modern definition of 'state'. Further, *regnum* can characterize the whole Frankish kingdom (for example when Louis the German decides to conquer the part of the kingdom west of the river Rhine: 'quicquid regni trans Renum fuit'),[37] as well as its divisions: the Aquitanian kingdom of the young Louis the Pious is equally called a *regnum*.[38] And, what is more, this kingdom is a 'state', a *res publica* (not necessarily, or indeed seldom, meaning a 'republic'), the second term which the Astronomer, like Nithard,[39]

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[32] Goetz, '*Regnum*'. Although this suggestion was contested by Fried, '*Gens*', I am not at all convinced by his counter-arguments and I see no reason to abandon my former suggestion.

[33] *Vita Hludowici* 11, p. 312; 16, p. 330; 23, p. 354.

[34] *Vita Hludowici* 1, p. 284; 20, p. 344; 40, p. 432; 59, p. 528.

[35] Compare *Vita Hludowici* 59, p. 524: 'Preterea insistente augusta et ministris palatinis, quandam partem imperii imperator filio suo dilectissimo Karolo Aquis tradidit'; 60, p. 530: 'universum imperium suum cum suis ipse divideret'. *Fines regni* occurs several times, e.g. *Vita Hludowici* 4, p. 294; 42, p. 446.

[36] Compare *Vita Hludowici* 25, pp. 358/60: 'quatenus regno restitueretur proprio'; 42, p. 446: 'Interea filii Godefridi Danorum quondam regis Herioldum regno expulerant.'

[37] *Vita Hludowici* 61, p. 532.

[38] *Vita Hludowici* 19, p. 340. For the three different 'levels' of *regnum* as kingdom, part of a kingdom (divided kingdom), or province within a kingdom, see Karl Ferdinand Werner, 'Von den "Regna" des Frankenreichs zu den "deutschen" Landen', in *Deutsch – Wort und Begriff*, ed. by Wolfgang Haubrichs, Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik, 24.94 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1994), pp. 69–81; Werner, 'Völker und Regna', in *Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Reichs- und Nationsbildung in Deutschland und Frankreich*, ed. by Carlrichard Brühl and Bernd Schneidmüller, Historische Zeitschrift, Beiheft, n.s., 24 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997), pp. 15–43. Werner distinguishes three notions of *regnum*: R_1 for the whole kingdom, R_2 for the divided kingdom, R_3 for the province.

[39] Compare Yves Sassier, 'L'utilisation d'un concept romain aux temps carolingiens: La res publica aux IX^e^ et X^e^ siècles', *Médiévales*, 15 (1988), 17–29; Philippe Depreux, 'Nithard et la "res publica": Un regard critique sur le règne de Louis le Pieux', *Médiévales*, 22–23 (1992), 149–61. Compare also Wolfgang Wehlen, *Geschichtsschreibung und Staatsauffassung im Zeitalter Ludwigs des Frommen*, Historische Studien, 418 (Lübeck: Matthiesen, 1970).

frequently uses in connection with the kingdom: the young Louis and his councellors were governing 'the state of the Aquitanian kingdom'.[40]

3. If we take a closer look at the character of early medieval government (as it is perceived by the Astronomer), the first impression, of course, is that the king is the central figure (a point which is to some degree, but not entirely, dependent on the fact that the Astronomer is writing a king's 'biography'):

– The Astronomer's state normally, though not necessarily, is a monarchy — to conspire against the king's life is to conspire against the kingdom[41] — and it is Frankish (although there were other kingdoms). Charlemagne is said to have been worried by sorrows that his young son Louis, as King of Aquitaine, might adopt some of the 'customs of foreigners' (*mores peregrinorum*),[42] that is, of those strange people in southern France. Moreover, this Frankish kingdom was widely conceived as a hereditary monarchy since Charlemagne granted Louis a kingdom which had been dedicated to him at birth ('regnum quod sibi nascendo dicaverat'):[43] Louis the Pious, therefore, was king 'by birth'. Accordingly, he received his royal insignia with a papal benediction for his future reign.[44] Moreover, the Astronomer emphasizes the fact that both father and son were kings (*reges*).[45] This right to succession also referred to the imperial dignity.[46] Nevertheless, it does not result in an 'automatic' hereditary succession: according to the Astronomer's report, Louis's succession to the throne after Charlemagne's death was not secured until he was paid homage by Wala, as the most influential person, and then by all the other Frankish leading men following Wala's example.[47]

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[40] *Vita Hludowici* 5, p. 296; 19, p. 340: 'In tantam denique res publica felicitatem Aquitanici profecerat regni.' A third expression applied once by the Astronomer is *civitas*: *Vita Hludowici* 28, p. 378: 'quo civitas in sancta doctrina et operatione clarius eniteret'. However, the use of *civitas* in this sense remains uncommon in the ninth century.

[41] *Vita Hludowici* 34, p. 404: 'revocatis omnibus, qui contra vitam suam regnumque coniuraverant'.

[42] *Vita Hludowici* 4, p. 294: 'cavens, ne [. . .] filius in tenerioribus annis peregrinorum aliquid disceret morum, quibus difficulter expeditur aetas semel imbuta'.

[43] *Vita Hludowici* 3, p. 290. Compare *Vita Hludowici* 12, p. 312 ('regnum, quod sibi dederat').

[44] *Vita Hludowici* 4, p. 294: 'benedictione regnaturo congrua et regali insignitus est diademate per manus Adriani venerandi antistitis'.

[45] *Vita Hludowici* 6, p. 302: 'cum patre rege rex Hludouuicus exegit'.

[46] *Vita Hludowici* 20, p. 344: 'tandem imperiali eum diademate coronavit et rerum summam penes eum futuram esse Christo favente innotuit'. It is justified by Eccles. 30.4: 'Mortuus est vir iustus, et quasi non est mortuus, similem enim sibi reliquit filium heredem' (the original text reads: 'Mortuus est pater illius, et quasi non est mortuus similem enim sibi reliquit').

[47] *Vita Hludowici* 21, p. 346: 'Qui tamen citissime ad eum venit et humillima subiectione se eius nutui secundum consuetudinem Francorum commendans subdidit. Post cuius ad

– Accordingly, this state is not governed by the king alone, but in collaboration with the whole *populus* (which certainly is not the same as our 'people', but restricted to those who were 'born' to take part in the realm).[48] There is no doubt that the King, 'that greatest light among mortals',[49] ranked most highly among all other persons, but he was still dependent on his followers, their counsel,[50] and their consent. This is why the King summoned his people so often,[51] and why, before deciding the case of the *Abodriti* where the late King's two sons were in discord, he inquired of the (Abodrite) people what they desired.[52] It was the council of the great men which, together with the King, governed the 'state'.[53] The ideal, however, was an absolute concord of everybody, as in the ordination of Louis's half-brother Drogo as Bishop of Metz which miraculously found the unanimous consent of the Emperor, the leading men, and the whole people.[54] We observe a kind of 'sequence of communication' when a messenger brought Louis the Pious the report of his father's illness and Louis informed his counsellors. There is only a single occasion when Louis 'out of fear and love of God, whose ordinance was wiser, did not want to act' ('divinitas, pro cuius timore et amore facere noluit, [. . .] prudentius ordinavit') and deliberately refused to follow the advice of his counsellors to take over the government of the

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imperatorem adventum, emulati eum omnes Francorum proceres certatim gregatimque ei obviam ire certabant.'

[48] Compare *Vita Hludowici* 60, pp. 530, 532: After the division of the realm between Lothar and Charles, which was applauded by *cunctus populus*, there was 'inter fratres mutuam dilectionem et inter utriusque filii populum [. . .] alterutrum sevisset amorem'.

[49] *Vita Hludowici* 62, p. 544, with regard to Louis the Pious' death: 'maximum illud lumen mortalium, quod in domo Dei supra candelabrum positum omnibus lucebat'. The King's death brings darkness into the world.

[50] Compare *Vita Hludowici* 3 (quoted above, note 29): 'consilio et fortitudine'; 5 (quoted below, note 53): 'proceres, quorum consilio res publica Aquitanici amministrabatur regni'; 8, p. 306 (marriage with Irmingard *cum consilio suorum*); 35, p. 410 ('quorum consilio res Italici regni componeret'). For faithfulness as a political virtue, see Tremp, '*Stabilitas*', pp. 118–19.

[51] Compare e.g. *Vita Hludowici* 40, p. 430 ('conventus populi'); *Vita Hludowici* 54, p. 500 ('ubi etiam populus, cui praeceptum fuerat, advenit'); *Vita Hludowici* 13, p. 314 ('de his que agenda videbantur tractans deliberabat'); and often. When Louis heard of a rebellion in southern France, he nevertheless refused to act immediately and waited for the advice of his counsellors (*Vita Hludowici* 40, p. 434: 'nichil tamen praepropere gerendum ratus, consiliariorum suorum sententiam, quod tali facto opus esset, statuit opperiri').

[52] *Vita Hludowici* 36, p. 412: 'requisita atque reperta voluntate populi'.

[53] *Vita Hludowici* 5, p. 296: 'Sed huius nevi ulciscendi gratia rex Hludouuicus et proceres, quorum consilio res publica Aquitanici amministrabatur regni, conventum generalem constituerunt in loco Septimaniae, cuius vocabulum est Mors-Gothorum.'

[54] *Vita Hludowici* 36, p. 416: 'Mirumque in modum tam imperatoris quam procerum eius, sed et totius populi consensus, quasi quodam coagulo in unum coniuravit.'

whole empire in Charlemagne's lifetime,[55] a passage that was obviously meant as a passing shot at Louis's own sons and their later behaviour. There could be 'bad counsels' of which one had to be wary.[56]

– In the Astronomer's state, the king (and the leading people) have a defined task. According to the instructions that Charlemagne gave his son Louis before crowning him an emperor, the king's task was to govern his kingdom (*regnandum*), keep it in good order (*regnum ordinandum*), and secure the 'organized' kingdom (*ordinatum tenendum*).[57] The nature of a good government is illustrated by the 'model king' Charlemagne: 'Government', on the one hand, meant keeping order within the kingdom (by caring for peace and concord towards the Church and showing benevolence to those who were peaceful but taking severe action against rebels). On the other hand, it also meant defending the kingdom from external threats, particularly from heathens. What is more, it required every effort to Christianize those external peoples.[58] This maxim, uttered at the very beginning of the *Vita*, is like a leitmotif that runs through the whole work (though it is not always repeated explicitly). It occurs in the many stories of Louis's defence of his kingdom,[59] in particular from the Saracens,[60] and his

[55] *Vita Hludowici* 20, p. 342. For the communication by messengers, see also *Vita Hludowici* 21, p. 346.

[56] Compare *Vita Hludowici* 29, pp. 380/82, concerning the rebellion of Bernard of Italy who was 'consiliis quorundam pravorum hominum adeo dementatum'. These counsels were inspired by the devil (*Vita Hludowici*, p. 378: 'At vero non tulit hanc sanctam Deoque dignam imperatoris devotionem humani generis inimicus undique se inpetentem et ab omnibus ecclesię ordinibus sibimet bella inducentem').

[57] *Vita Hludowici* 20, p. 344: 'qualiter videlicet sibi vivendum, regnandum, regnum ordinandum et ordinatum tenendum foret'. Compare Tremp, '*Stabilitas*', p. 116.

[58] *Vita Hludowici* 1, p. 284: After Charlemagne had become sole king, he thought to gain salvation and welfare, 'si ecclesię paci concordięque adminiculans pacificos quidem sub unione fraterna artius vinciret, rebelles autem aequa severitate percelleret, necnon et oppressis a paganis opem ferret, sed et ipsos christiani nominis inimicos ad agnitionem confessionemque veritatis quoquo modo perduceret.' Compare Tremp, '*Stabilitas*', p. 117: Welfare and felicity were dependent on peace and concord.

[59] Compare also *Vita Hludowici* 6, p. 300: 'omnibusque quę ad tutamen regni pertinent ordinatis'. After his succession, Louis secured his reign by treaties with foreign powers (Byzantium, Benevent), homage of his relatives (Bernard of Italy), and distribution of the provinces among his sons (*Vita Hludowici* 21–24, pp. 346–48).

[60] Compare *Vita Hludowici* 2, p. 286 (Louis brought help to the Church which was threatened by the Saracens); 5, p. 298 (Count William brought peace to the Basques). Further fights or peace treaties with the Saracens: *Vita Hludowici* 10, p. 310; 13, pp. 312/14; 25, p. 360. Compare also *Vita Hludowici* 15, p. 326 (building ships against the Saracens); 16, p. 330 (conquest of Tortosa, probably given more importance than was historically true); 18, pp. 332/34 (subjection of the rebelling Basques); *Vita Hludowici* 32, p. 390. Peace with the Saracens was not considered to be obligatory and was repudiated if it was not regarded as 'useful'; compare *Vita Hludowici* 25, p. 360; 34, p. 400 ('inruptaque imaginaria pace [. . .] bellum ei est indictum' against the Saracen king Abulat).

attempts to Christianize heathen kings, the Danish pretender to the throne Heriald being the most eminent example.[61] In the interior Louis provided peace in such a way that no one (in Aquitaine) complained of having been unjustly treated.[62]

– The political task of the reigning people was at the same time a demand (or duty) that had to be fulfilled. The people of the *Wilci* abandoned their king, who turned out to govern less efficiently than the 'cause', or the 'state' (*res*), required, in favour of his younger brother.[63] Consequently, the Astronomer (and his contemporaries) had their political ideals which served as a yardstick by which 'reality' could be measured. They become most obvious in the royal virtues, represented above all, of course, in Louis the Pious himself.[64] The Astronomer praises this King for his temperance and sobriety,[65] but mentions also sexual self-control.[66] Other important virtues were his strong belief, piety, and charity[67] as well as his generosity[68] and prudence.[69] The virtue that was mentioned and praised most frequently, however, was Louis's mildness and clemency (*clementia*).[70] Louis not only pardoned his opponents but even restored

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[61] *Vita Hludowici* 40, p. 432.

[62] Compare *Vita Hludowici* 19, p. 340.

[63] *Vita Hludowici* 36, p. 412: 'segniorem se, quam res poscebat, in regni administratione exhiberet'. The people's judgement was supported by Louis the Pious with similar arguments.

[64] For Louis as ideal king, see Tenberken, *Vita*, pp. 32–34. For his 'monastic' virtues, see Tremp, 'Thegan', p. 696; comprehensively Siemes, 'Beiträge', pp. 63–101, who, however, subordinates all virtues to the four 'cardinal' virtues temperance (pp. 68–70), wisdom (pp. 73–75), justice (pp. 81–83), and virtue (pp. 87–89), whereas the Astronomer himself does not seem to classify the different virtues.

[65] *Vita Hludowici* prol. p. 282 (*temperantia*, *sobrietas*, *frugalitas*).

[66] *Vita Hludowici* 8, p. 306: Louis was urged to marry, 'ne corporis nativo superatus calore in multimodos luxuriae raperetur anfractus'. Later on, however, he was urged to remarry, 'ne regni vellet relinquere gubernacula' (*Vita Hludowici* 32, p. 392).

[67] Compare *Vita Hludowici* prol., p. 282 ('et Deum super omnia, proximum vero tamquam se diligeret'); 19, p. 334 (from his childhood, 'circa divinum cultum et sanctae ecclesiae exaltationem piissimus incitabatur animus'); he even wanted to follow Carloman's example and would have joined a convent if he had not been prevented by his father. This decision was praised by the Astronomer as being *divine nutus voluntatis* because such a man should not be responsible for his individual salvation alone, but for the welfare of many people (*Vita Hludowici*, p. 334). For royal piety, see also Philippe Depreux, 'La *pietas* comme principe de gouvernement d'après le Poème sur Louis le Pieux d'Ermold le Noir', in *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Mary Swan and Joyce Hill (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 201–24. For Louis's penitence in Attigny, compare Siemes, 'Beiträge', pp. 47–49; for the moral intention of the Astronomer, see *Vita Hludowici*, pp. 29–31.

[68] *Vita Hludowici* 2, p. 288 ('regis animus Deo nobilitante generosissimus'). *Liberalitas*: *Vita Hludowici* 7, p. 306.

[69] *Vita Hludowici* 7, p. 304.

[70] In the prologue (p. 284), the author defends this virtue against those who were blaming Louis for being too lenient. Compare *Vita Hludowici* 21, p. 350 ('imperatoris clementia'),

their goods to them.[71] He was mild by nature, magnanimous by his strength, and cautious by his piety beyond human measure.[72] He was mild to a degree that others even used his leniency against him.[73] The King's officials were equally characterized by prudence and strength (*prudentia et fortitudo*).[74] Moreover, a king's governance required some wealth[75] and, of course, power: a deposed emperor (like Louis, overthrown by his sons in 830) merely bore the title (*solo nomine imperator*).[76]

4. If we look for the 'maxims of government', we naturally find indications of the Augustinian ideals of peace — Louis was always a lover of peace[77] — and justice (rooted in old customs),[78] of unity and concord,[79] but the term which occurs most

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though Louis is also reprimanded by some people because he granted the Saxons and Frisians, peoples who ought to be kept in check, their former hereditary rights; but he turned out to have acted correctly because these peoples remained faithful (*Vita Hludowici* 24, p. 356); 30, p. 384 (Louis pardoned his opponents against the advice of his counsellors); 39, p. 426 ('qua clementia semper uti consuevit'). Compare 45, p. 464 ('consueto benignitatis et clementiae more'). *Misericordia*: *Vita Hludowici* 7, p. 304. *Mansuetudo*: *Vita Hludowici* 61, p. 534.

[71] *Vita Hludowici* 34, p. 404: 'revocatis omnibus, qui contra vitam suam regnumque coniuraverant, non modo vitam membraque donavit, sed et possessiones, quibus legaliter fuerant privati, cum magno liberalitatis testimonio restituit'. Again *Vita Hludowici* 46, p. 466.

[72] *Vita Hludowici* 62, p. 540: 'quamvis esset pene ultra humanum modum natura mitissimus, fortitudine magnanimus, pietate cautissimus'. Compare *Vita Hludowici* 21, p. 348 ('natura mitissimum').

[73] *Vita Hludowici* 42, p. 444: 'Et quidem imperatoris animus natura misericordissimus semper peccantibus misericordiam praerogare studuit; at vero hii, in quibus talia praestita sunt, quomodo clementia illius abusi sunt in crudelitatem, post pauca patebit.'

[74] *Vita Hludowici* 3 (quote above, note 29). The *magistri*, however, who were meant to change the Aquitanians' obstinate minds, had a certain knowledge and education; compare *Vita Hludowici* 19, p. 336: 'tam legendi quam cantandi studium, necnon divinarum et mundanarum intelligentia litterarum'.

[75] Compare *Vita Hludowici* 6, p. 302: Louis's 'private' treasure in Aquitaine was so small ('cur rex cum foret, tantę tenuitatis esset in re familiari') that he could not even offer his father a present.

[76] *Vita Hludowici* 45, p. 460. In parallel, the Annales Bertiniani s.a. 830, p. 2, report: 'omnem potestatem regiam [. . .] tulerunt'. It was decisive that this power had to be exercised first in the king's own house and family; compare *Vita Hludowici* 19, p. 340 ('potestatem habens in cuncta patrisfamilias domo').

[77] Compare *Vita Hludowici* 54, p. 506: 'qui ut paci semper studens semperque dilector pacis atque amator unitatis'. Compare 60, p. 532: 'tamquam vere pacis peregisset amator.'

[78] Compare *Vita Hludowici* 38, p. 424: 'Statutum est etiam iuxta antiquum morem, ut ex latere imperatoris mitterentur, qui iudiciariam exercentes potestatem, iustitiam omni populo [. . .] aequa lance penderent.'

[79] Compare *Vita Hludowici* 54 (quote above, note 77); 56, p. 510 (the Pope 'forgot' his own disease on hearing the Emperor's message that he and his son Lothar had been reconciled).

frequently is *utilitas*. Besides *oportunitas*,[80] this was obviously the guiding principle of government. *Cura regni* meant to accomplish *prout utile iudicavit*.[81] This 'utility' or 'usefulness' was particularly important when it was *publica utilitas*, a utility for public concerns (or the obligation to serve the common good, that is, precisely the welfare of the 'state').[82] It was, for example, a demand of the *publica utilitas* to face the rebellion of the Basques and reprimand them for their obstinacy.[83] As was his custom, the Emperor never omitted to regulate what was necessary for the public welfare.[84] 'Public', therefore, was contrasted with 'private' — it was 'perverse' when the Aquitanian nobility turned public goods (or honours) into private ones[85] — though one could also act for both 'public and private "utility"' (as Louis frequently did).[86] Accordingly, rebellions were condemned (as being 'tyrannical'[87] actions against this

[80] Compare *Vita Hludowici* 2, p. 286: 'His peractis et rebus tam publicis quamque privatis pro oportunitate dispositis [. . .]; ibidem etiam que oportunitas utilitasque dictavit explicitis.'

[81] *Vita Hludowici* 3 (quote above, note 29). Compare *Vita Hludowici* 7, p. 306 (Louis's counsellor Meginhard knew of *utilitatis et honestatis regię*. Compare also *Vita Hludowici* 11, p. 312; 27, p. 370 (Louis rejected a legation of the Danish kings *tamquam inutilis et simulata*); 32, p. 392 ('quicquid utile iudicavit'); 32, p. 394 (Louis rejected the demands of the Croatian *dux* Ljudevit as being *tamquam inutilia*); 34, p. 406 ('ceterisque que utilitas poscebat explicitis'); 40, p. 430 ('multa quae ecclesię essent utilia ammonuit, statuit et definivit'); 56, pp. 514/16 ('de aliis utilitatibus ecclesię necessariis [. . .] questum est'); 59, p. 528 (for Lothar and his people, the guardianship for Charles seemed *per omnia utilis*).

[82] Compare Tremp, '*Stabilitas*', pp. 115–16.

[83] *Vita Hludowici* 18, p. 332: 'quod quedam Uuasconum pars iam pridem in deditionem suscepta, nunc defectionem meditata in rebellionem adsurgeret, ad quorum reprimendam pervicatiam ire publica utilitas postularet'. Later on, in Pamplona, Louis settled 'ea que utilitati tam publicę quam private conducerent'; 43, p. 452: 'cogentibus moratus necessitatibus et publicis utilitatibus'.

[84] *Vita Hludowici* 54, p. 504: 'More autem suo imperator nequaquam conventum istum a publica utilitate vacare passus est' (in spite of the threatening conflict with his sons).

[85] Compare *Vita Hludowici* 6, pp. 302/04: 'quia privatis studens quisque primorum, neglegens autem publicorum, perversa vice, dum publica vertuntur in privata'. The *missi dominici*, therefore, were commanded 'ut villę que eatenus usui servierant regio, obsequio restituerentur publico'.

[86] Compare *Vita Hludowici* 2, p. 286 ('rebus tam publicis quamque privatis pro oportunitate dispositis'); 18 (quoted above, note 83); 35, p. 410: 'res Italici regni componeret, erigeret, tueretur tam publicas quamque privatas'. In a particular sense, *publicus* also meant 'secular' in contrast to 'ecclesiastical'; compare *Vita Hludowici* 53, p. 498 ('tam in ecclesiasticis quam publicis rebus'); 59, p. 526 ('tam rebus ecclesiasticis quamque privatis'); 61, p. 538 ('tam ecclesiastica quamque publica suo more disposuit'). For the contrast of 'ecclesiastical' and 'secular', see also *Vita Hludowici* 28, p. 378: 'monstro enim simile ducebat, si ecclesiasticę deputatus familię conaretur adspirare ad secularis ornamenta gloriae'.

[87] *Vita Hludowici* 61, p. 536, concerning the followers of Pippin II of Aquitaine ('sicut moris talibus est, praedationi atque tyrannidi operam dantes'); compare *Vita Hludowici* 19, p. 336 (the Aquitaines were tyrannical because they loved fighting more than serving God).

principle[88]). Even at the end of his life, Louis proved very reluctant to pardon his namesake son and forgive him his sins because his rebellions were 'against nature and the commandment of God' ('contra naturam et Domini praeceptum') when he neglected 'the commandments of God, their common father' ('communis patris Dei precepta minasque').[89]

5. After all that has been written about the importance of 'rituals' and 'symbolism' in early medieval government, particularly in the work of Gerd Althoff,[90] it is no surprise that this factor also plays a role for the Astronomer: After Louis had been deposed by his sons, his followers urged him to receive the imperial insignia ('ad recipiendas imperatorias [. . .] infulas'). It was the insignia that 'made' the ruler. Louis, however, postponed this act because he wanted it to be performed during a Sunday Mass by the bishops (and, significantly, while this was proceeding, a heavy storm ceased and gave way to fair weather).[91] This was followed by a full ceremony of reinvestment held in Metz in front of a great public with seven archbishops singing seven prayers of reconcilement.[92] We find nearly all of Althoff's features of a ritualistic mise en scène in these descriptions. It should be borne in mind, however, that these procedures were not at all restricted to Ottonian times, nor were they, contrary to certain modern opinions, exclusively linked to 'oral societies', or to lay societies.

6. Finally, and inevitably for a medieval author, all these perceptions of state, kingship, and government were, of course, perceived as an integrated part of a universal, salvational history.[93] Charlemagne had received his kingdom from God.[94] His decision to visit Rome (thus the Astronomer's argumentation) resulted from the wish to recommend himself and his posterity to Saints Peter and Paul and their power over heaven and earth in order to gain their help to reign in a similar way.[95]

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[88] Compare *Vita Hludowici* 6, p. 302 (the brothers were sad because their natural brother Pippin planned a rebellion against their father); 44, p. 456 ('more canum aviumque rapatium'). Compare Tremp, '*Stabilitas*', p. 121.

[89] *Vita Hludowici* 63, p. 550.

[90] Compare Althoff, *Spielregeln*.

[91] *Vita Hludowici* 51, p. 488. There is a similar procedure with Charles the Bald's investment with a portion of the kingdom in 838, *Vita Hludowici* 59, p. 526: 'Ubi domnus imperator filium suum Karolum armis virilibus, id est ense, cinxit, corona regali caput insignivit, partemque regni [. . .] attribuit.'

[92] *Vita Hludowici* 54, p. 502. Compare Siemes, 'Beiträge', pp. 47–49, for Louis's imitation of Theodosius, David, and Christ himself.

[93] Compare Tremp, '*Stabilitas*', p. 126.

[94] *Vita Hludowici* 20 (quoted above, note 31: 'regnum, quod erat Deo donante nobiliter ordinatum'). Compare Siemes, 'Beiträge', p. 58, for Louis being chosen by God.

[95] *Vita Hludowici* 4, p. 292: 'Post non multum sane tempus incidit ei desiderium dominam quondam orbis videre Romam principisque apostolorum atque doctoris gentium adire limina seque suamque prolem eis commendare, ut talibus nitens suffragatoribus, quibus caeli terręque

The conquest of Saragossa was completed by a solemn entry procession (*introitus*) of the priests marching in in front of the army and by a thanksgiving Mass dedicated to God.[96] This sacrality becomes particularly manifest in the idea of a 'sacral kingship' (*Sakralkönigtum*). A prime example was King Louis, whose pious deeds made him — in a way — almost appear as a priest: 'so that through his deeds he was publicly named not only a king, but also a priest' ('ita ut non modo regem, sed ipsius opera potius eum vociferarentur sacerdotem').[97]

Admittedly, not all of what I have observed and suggested may be completely new. What I have tried to show is that investigating people's (in this case one historian's) view of the political order of their state is a rewarding approach which adds plentifully to our knowledge of those times. Indeed, this is an essential methodology in the context of modern scholarship which is not so much interested in what was right and what was normal as in how it was felt (or sensed) by the people. Such feelings and thoughts were crucial to the operation of the political order: In fact, the people's perception of their kingdom provided the mental basis for its actual functioning, which had to be grounded on an understanding of how it worked (or how it should work). Moreover, asking for the people's perceptions is a 'cultural' and an 'anthropological' approach which, even when considering the political aspects, as has been done in this paper, takes us nearer to the human beings and their mentality. In addition, as far as the 'state' is concerned, it helps us to understand how the political order of those times was conceived. After all I have said about the Astronomer's view, there should be no doubt that he had a clear and conscious concept of what was going on in his world, and a clear concept of the political order of his times: how it actually was and how he wished it to be.[98] I do not think it is

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potestas attributa est, ipse quoque subiectis consulere, perduellionum etiam, si emersissent, proterviam proterere posset.' And he expected *non mediocre sibi subsidium conferri* from another royal investment and benediction performed by the Pope. Later on, Louis was saved by the protection of God when a part of the palace of Aachen collapsed (*Vita Hludowici* 28, p. 374: 'Sed a Deo, cui erat dilectus, a presenti est discrimine protectus'); *Vita Hludowici* 28, p. 376 ('Deo amabilis imperator'). Compare *Vita Hludowici* 55, p. 508: The affliction of Rome by Lothar annoyed the Emperor, 'quia quando ei regnum Italie donavit, etiam curam sanctae Romanę ecclesię simul commisit'.

[96] *Vita Hludowici* 13, p. 318. The inhabitants insisted on surrendering to the King alone ('ut urbs tanti nominis gloriosum nomen regi propagaret'). It is self-evident that Louis's victories are won by God's help; compare *Vita Hludowici* 15, p. 328 ('divino freti auxilio'; 'Christo favente').

[97] *Vita Hludowici* 19, p. 334. Compare Tremp, '*Stabilitas*', pp. 123–24.

[98] Compare Tremp, '*Stabilitas*', p. 126, who, in his conclusion, rightly emphasizes that Carolingian authors *were* capable of 'abstract' and 'institutional' political concepts. If the Astronomer, however, according to Tremp, failed because he wanted to conceive the political reality by his religious claim (thus *Vita Hludowici* p. 127), then *every* early medieval

necessary to repeat or summarize the details. A point of far greater importance is that we could easily 'replace' the Astronomer by other witnesses and gain similar results — as I have acquired by a similar analysis of Nithard and Notker — notwithstanding slight differences in their individual perceptions. Therefore, it should be a rewarding enterprise to see the medieval state through the (many) eyes of its contemporaries. And if I am allowed a last remark: after all that has been said about the Astronomer (and his contemporaries) I am afraid that I cannot share modern (predominantly German) opinions which refuse to grant medieval historians a full understanding of their political order (including modern concepts such as the *Herrschaftsverband*) only because they (naturally) did not coin appropriate terms for it. Nor, in view of the fact that our authors had a clear perception and a clear concept of this political order, do I see any reason why we should not call this a 'state', thereby returning to medieval people their awareness of a civilized order and abandoning an attitude which presents the (later) Carolingian period as an incapable, 'archaic' culture existing before the 'real', modern world was born.

conception of the state must be said to have 'failed'. This particular concept, on the contrary, has to be considered as one of the most important features of early medieval political conceptions.

The Idea of Empire in Carolingian Bavaria

WARREN BROWN

When the Frankish king Charlemagne became an emperor on Christmas Day of the year 800, he revived an ancient Roman title that had lain moribund in the West for centuries. Yet Charlemagne did not understand the title *imperator* in the same way that the ancient Roman emperors had, that is, as a title that gave its bearer the right to govern a unitary empire inhabited by Roman citizens. Just how he did understand it remains a subject of some controversy. Nevertheless, I will try to synthesize here some of the conclusions that have emerged from recent scholarship. According to the ideals broadcast by members of Charlemagne's court, an emperor was someone who ruled many different peoples, and especially other kings.[1] Moreover, while the imperial title was important to Charlemagne, it did not form the sole basis for his authority. Instead, it augmented and complemented two other titles that he already possessed: King of the Franks and King of the Lombards. In other words, Charlemagne did not rule the Franks and the Lombards

[1] For the following discussion of Charlemagne's idea of empire, see Roger Collins, *Charlemagne* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 147–53 and pp. 157–58; Pierre Riché, *The Carolingians: A Family Who Forged Europe*, trans. by Michael Idomir Allen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), pp. 117–23 and pp. 133–34; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians* (London: Longman, 1983), pp. 71–72 and p. 131; Egon Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996), pp. 83–88; Paul Fouracre, 'Frankish Gaul to 814', in *NCMH*, II, 85–109 (p. 106); Janet L. Nelson, 'The Frankish Kingdoms, 814–898: The West', in *NCMH*, II, 110–41 (p. 110). On Carolingian ideologies of power in general, see Janet L. Nelson, 'Kingship and Royal Government', in *NCMH*, II, 383–430 (pp. 422–30). Compare Janet L. Nelson, 'Translating Images of Authority: The Christian Roman Emperors in the Carolingian World', in *The Frankish World, 750–900* (London: Hambledon, 1996), pp. 89–98, for the suggestion that what has been called the 'non-Roman' imperial ideal of a multi-provincial empire also had Roman models, specifically those of the Christian emperors.

because he governed an empire within which these peoples lived. He ruled them because he was their King.

Charlemagne's imperial ideology did connect to the Roman past insofar as it reflected the Constantinian tradition (a tradition that was still alive and well in Byzantium) that an emperor was responsible for the well-being of the Christian Church and people.[2] The titulature used in Charlemagne's diplomas (which Herwig Wolfram has so ably presented to us as his *Selbstaussage*, or 'self-declaration')[3] was accordingly couched in such a way as to underline not only the multivalent nature of the emperor's rule but also his Christian purpose: 'Charles the most serene augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific emperor, governing the Roman Empire, who also by the grace of God is King of the Franks and of the Lombards'.[4]

Charlemagne evidently did not see his imperial title as something that existed apart from him or that would necessarily survive him. When for example in 806 he arranged for his three sons to succeed him, he divided his realm equally among them as Frankish tradition demanded. He made no mention of the imperial title and gave no one son power over any of the others. In 813, when Charlemagne finally did crown his last surviving son Louis the Pious his co-emperor and successor, he made it quite clear that the imperial title was his alone to bestow: he directed the coronation personally and did not involve the Roman pope.

Louis the Pious, however, saw the imperial title quite differently from the way his father had done.[5] Louis had been raised in the still Romanized south, in Aquitaine,

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[2] On the Byzantine view of empire, see Michael McCormick, 'Byzantium and the West, 700–900', in *NCMH*, II, 349–80 (p. 360).

[3] Herwig Wolfram, *Intitulatio*, vol. I: *Lateinische Königs- und Fürstentitel bis zum Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1967), pp. 9–21; Wolfram, 'Lateinische Herrschertitel im neunten und zehnten Jahrhundert', in *Intitulatio*, vol. II: *Lateinische Herrscher- und Fürstentitel im neunten und zehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. by Herwig Wolfram (Vienna: Böhlau, 1973), pp. 19–178 (pp. 19–52).

[4] 'Karolus serenissimus augustus a Deo coronatus magnus pacificus imperator Romanum gubernans imperium, qui et per misericordiam Dei rex Francorum et (atque) Langobardorum'; Wolfram, 'Lateinische Herrschertitel', p. 20.

[5] On Louis the Pious, see the articles in *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)*, ed. by Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), esp. Karl Ferdinand Werner, '*Hludovicus Augustus*: Gouverner l'empire chrétien – Idées et réalités', pp. 3–123; Josef Semmler, '*Renovatio Regni Francorum*: Die Herrschaft Ludwigs des Frommen im Frankenreich 814–829/830', pp. 125–46; Janet L. Nelson, 'The Last Years of Louis the Pious', pp. 147–59; Egon Boshof, 'Einheitsidee und Teilungsprinzip in der Regierungszeit Ludwigs des Frommen', pp. 161–89. See also Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme*, pp. 98, 129–34, and 173–251; Riché, *Carolingians*, pp. 146–59; McKitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*, pp. 106–39 and 175–76; Nelson, 'Frankish Kingdoms, 814–898', pp. 111–12 and 117–21; Johannes Fried, 'The Frankish Kingdoms, 817–911: The East and Middle Kingdoms', in *NCMH*, II, 142–68 (pp. 142–44); Wolfram, 'Lateinische Herrschertitel', pp. 78–83.

where he had ruled as subking since childhood. Accordingly, he brought with him to Aachen an idea of Christian emperorship that was more firmly Roman than his father's. To begin with, Louis did not subdivide his authority. He claimed to rule all of the people in his empire because he was Emperor. At the same time, he sought even more than had his father to bring his rule and his realm into harmony with the divine will, an intent he advertised in 816 when he had himself recrowned as Emperor by Pope Stephen IV in defiance of his father's precedent.

Louis's efforts to broadcast his idea of empire reached their peak in the first decade of his reign, which began in 814. They are most apparent in his first attempt to regulate the imperial succession, the *Ordinatio imperii* of 817. According to the *Ordinatio*, God had given the empire to Louis as a unity; what God had handed to Louis whole was not to be divided by man. Moreover, the empire and the emperorship existed apart from Louis and would continue to exist after his death. Louis's eldest son, Lothar, would succeed his father as Emperor. Lothar's brothers Pippin and Louis the German would have their own kingdoms, in Aquitaine and Bavaria respectively. Nevertheless, they were to remain firmly under Lothar's imperial control.

It is well known that Louis the Pious's idea of empire failed to take root, at least in part because of Louis's own mistakes. Louis's second marriage to Judith and the birth of his fourth son Charles the Bald ultimately touched off a series of rebellions that forced Louis to abandon his imperial program and to divide and then redivide his realm more in accordance with Frankish tradition and political necessity.

The story I have just told looks at the imperial title from the perspective of the first two Carolingian emperors. It reflects a modern historiography that has for the most part focused on what empire meant at the centre, that is, on the images of empire projected by the emperors themselves and members of their court, or by writers who had contacts with the court. From these images scholars have derived a great deal of important information about how Carolingian intellectuals conceived of political organization, about the language they used to describe it, about how they processed the political inheritance of ancient Rome, and about how they understood their own political world to work.[6]

An interesting question remains open, however: what did the imperial title mean to that majority of people who lived far from the centres of Carolingian power? Did anyone in Charlemagne's vast realm care that after 25 December 800 they were being ruled by an emperor? If so, what did they think an emperor was? Did they feel as if they were living in a revived Roman Empire? A Carolingian Empire? An empire of any kind? Did it matter to them that two successive bearers of the imperial title interpreted it differently, and that the second sought, and ultimately failed, to make his interpretation stick?

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[6] See the literature cited in notes 1, 3, and 5 above, as well as Hans-Werner Goetz, '*Regnum*: Zum politischen Denken der Karolingerzeit', *ZSRG (GA)*, 104 (1987), 110–89.

To answer these questions, I need to address them to people at the local level who were literate and who wrote about emperors and empire. Among the most accessible of these are scribes who wrote the so-called private charters — that is, written records of property holdings, property transactions, or property disputes — that have survived from early medieval ecclesiastical institutions. Charter scribes referred to emperors and empire in several contexts. Most often they did so in dating clauses that anchored charters in time by connecting them to the number of years a particular ruler had ruled or to an important event in the ruler's reign. They also, however, described rulers when the rulers themselves somehow impinged on the activities recorded in charters, for example, when a ruler or his representatives intervened directly in a property transaction or a property dispute, or when the principals to a transaction were at the time of the transaction interacting with a ruler.[7]

A first step in studying the ways that charter scribes in the Carolingian period described rulers and rulership was taken by Heinrich Fichtenau, in a 1973 article on political language in charter dating clauses.[8] Fichtenau was interested in the degree to which local scribes recognized and reacted to the changing political structures of the Carolingian world. He found that the language scribes used in their dating clauses did rather sensitively reflect changes in political conditions at the Carolingian courts, especially when the scribes worked at institutions led by people who enjoyed direct connections to the courts.[9] However, he left unexplored the question of what terms such as 'emperor' and 'empire' might have meant to the people who wrote the dating clauses.[10] Moreover, the broad scope of Fichtenau's work forced him to paint with a broad brush. He left considerable room for someone to sift charter collections in depth for ruler references, and to examine not only dating clauses but also the text of charters, to see how some literate local clergy might have understood

[7] On charters in general and private charters in particular, see *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 1–5 and p. 270; *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, ed. by Karl Heidecker (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 2–3; *Diplomatique Médiévale*, ed. by Olivier Guyotjeannin, Jacques Pycke, and Benoît-Michel Tock (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), p. 25; Heinrich Fichtenau, *Das Urkundenwesen in Österreich vom 8. bis zum frühen 13. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1971), pp. 11–97; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 77–134. On the development of ecclesiastical charter collections in the early Middle Ages, esp. east of the Rhine, see Fichtenau, *Urkundenwesen*, pp. 73–87; Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 87–114.

[8] Heinrich Fichtenau, '"Politische" Datierungen des frühen Mittelalters', in *Intitulatio* II, ed. by Wolfram, pp. 453–548.

[9] Fichtenau, '"Politische" Datierungen', p. 518 and p. 531.

[10] A question brilliantly explored in narrative historiography from the Carolingian period by Goetz, '*Regnum*'; I will refer to Goetz's conclusions below as they apply.

their political universe. Such a study would also help us to see not only whether and how individual scribes reacted to changes in court ideology, but also whether they might have differed from one another in their understandings of that ideology, and thus the degree to which successive court programs affected how individuals as well as small communities in the Carolingian period thought about empire.[11]

In this essay I am going to examine in detail the ways that church scribes described the emperors in a particularly good collection of private charters from a far-flung region of the Carolingian realm, namely western Bavaria. My source is one to which Fichtenau devoted significant attention: the cartulary from the cathedral church at Freising.[12] Compiled by a priest named Cozroh between the 820s and the 850s, the Freising cartulary contains verbatim copies of individual property records from the Freising cathedral archives reaching back to the 740s. The original charters copied by Cozroh appear to have been written at or near the time of the events they record, mostly by scribes from among the Freising cathedral clergy.[13] These scribes did not always identify themselves, but quite often they did, with a closing phrase such as 'I the unworthy deacon Tagabert wrote this charter at the order of Bishop Atto'.[14]

Freising's scribes referred to emperors in their charters above all to help them date transactions, but also at times when an emperor's authority, in person or through his representatives, intersected with the affairs of their church. The language they used to describe the emperors expressed what they understood the imperial title

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[11] Fichtenau, '"Politische" Datierungen', p. 501, opens up this line of inquiry with the comment: 'Interessant genug ist es aber zu sehen, wie sich diese [verfassungsrechtliche] Wirklichkeit im Denken breiterer Kreise der Urkundenschreiber spiegelt, was rezipiert, was weggelassen oder auch umgebildet sind.' However, he does not follow it up, leading him to make some mistakes that I note below. Fichtenau's comment in addition reflects his view that the language he was studying represented a constitutional reality that scribes either did or did not recognize, rather than understandings or ideologies of rulership that scribes could share, or not; compare Wolfram, *Intitulatio*, I, 11–12.

[12] See, for example, Fichtenau, '"Politische" Datierungen', pp. 502–03, 518–19, 530–31.

[13] Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Hochstift Freising Literalien 3a; edition: *TF* (cited by charter number). One section of the cartulary is missing; the records it contained have nonetheless survived, albeit without witness lists, in a twelfth-century copy made by the Freising sacristan Conrad; Munich, Bayrisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Hochstift Freising Literalien 3c. See Warren Brown, *Unjust Seizure: Conflict, Interest, and Authority in an Early Medieval Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), pp. 19–21; Joachim Jahn, 'Virgil, Arbeo und Cozroh: Verfassungsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen an bairischen Quellen des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 130 (1990), 201–91; Geary, *Phantoms*, pp. 93–96; Georges Declercq, 'Originals and Cartularies: The Organization of Archival Memory (Ninth-Eleventh Centuries)', in *Charters and the Use of the Written Word*, ed. by Heidecker, pp. 147–70 (pp. 154–56).

[14] See, for example, *TF* 198 (804): 'Ego quidem Tagabertus indignus diaconus hanc cartulam scripsi iussione Attonis episcopi.'

to mean — or perhaps better, how they wanted the readers or hearers of their charters to understand it. That language varied a great deal. There was no one formula or set of formulas that they used to refer to the emperors, no single characteristic dating clause that was imposed on them by the head of the Freising scriptorium. Instead, different scribes used different formulas, different words. Sometimes the same scribe used different language in successive charters. Often scribes would not refer to their ruler at all.

Nevertheless, I have found some patterns that allow me to draw some general conclusions. On a basic level, the Freising charters confirm Fichtenau's basic conclusion that the political messages sent out from successive Carolingian courts were picked up and rebroadcast by local scribes. Some of the images of empire in the Freising charters do indeed conform to the narrative that I outlined at the beginning of this essay; that is, the language many of the charters use to describe Louis the Pious and his rule differs from that used to describe Charlemagne in the ways that the history of court ideology would lead one to expect. However, Freising's scribes did not simply parrot the ideas broadcast from Aachen. Instead, they offer us a variety of images. In fact, their references to the emperors sometimes differ enough to let us catch a glimmer of an individual scribe's personality. Creative, innovative, and sometimes personal blendings of all sorts of title traditions reveal not only a collective reaction but also individual reactions to what was going on in the wider Carolingian political world.

Despite all of the variety and change, however, the Freising charters end up projecting a single and stubborn understanding of what empire meant. Despite Louis the Pious's attempt to redefine imperial rule, Freising's scribes never really saw an emperor as inherently different from a king; he simply ranked higher. They did not understand *imperium* itself to be a geographical entity that had a separate existence outside of the emperor. It was instead a higher-ranking quality of rule that, as far as Freising's scribes were concerned, ceased to exist with Louis the Pious's death.

Freising lay in the north-west of early medieval Bavaria, which at the turn of the ninth century comprised all of the modern German state of Bavaria south of the Danube and the western part of modern Austria.[15] The region had had a long and tangled relationship with the Frankish world. During the Merovingian period, Bavaria had fallen within the Frankish sphere of influence, and its ruling family, the Agilolfing dukes, were themselves most likely Frankish in origin. In the unrest that accompanied the rise to power of the Carolingians, however, the Bavarian dukes were able to assert their independence. From the mid-eighth century on, they played a leading role in a European-wide resistance to Carolingian hegemony.

In 787, Charlemagne conquered Bavaria and forced the Agilolfing duke, Tassilo III, to become his vassal. The following year he deposed Tassilo and exiled him to a

[15] On the history of early medieval Bavaria, see Brown, *Unjust Seizure*, pp. 11–17; Collins, *Charlemagne*, pp. 77–88; Herwig Wolfram, *Die Geburt Mitteleuropas: Geschichte Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung, 378–907* (Vienna: Siedler Verlag, 1987).

monastery. Finally, in 794, he compelled the deposed Duke to renounce all of his family's rights in Bavaria. Charlemagne placed Bavaria itself under the command of a prefect and proceeded to integrate the former duchy into his greater kingdom. He nevertheless allowed Bavaria to retain its territorial integrity and its own law. Bavaria's status as a cohesive entity was underlined two decades later when Louis the Pious reconstituted it as a subkingdom, first under his eldest son, Lothar, and then, as part of the projected division of his realm in 817, under Louis the German.

The scribes at Freising's cathedral church were well aware of the changes in their political environment, and they reflected this awareness in their charters. For example, some scribes reacted quickly to Charlemagne's conquest in 787; within a year they were dating their charters to the Frankish king and his activities in Bavaria. Interestingly, others for a time kept referring to Duke Tassilo, betraying an initial confusion about just who was in charge in Bavaria as Charlemagne slowly asserted his control and removed the Agilolfings from power.[16]

As they adapted to their new political situation after the conquest, Freising's scribes came to characterize the Frankish king and his realm exactly as Charlemagne's own diploma titulature would lead one to expect: Charles was king, the lord king, the great king, the most glorious king. In a few cases he was even given his full-blown title: the most glorious King of the Franks and the Lombards and Patrician of the Romans.[17]

It was a year and a half after Charlemagne's imperial coronation, in the spring of 802, that Freising's scribes first recorded the fact that their King was now an Emperor. An anonymous scribe dated a charter from 21 May of that year to the second year of the lord emperor Charles.[18] The first real concentration of imperial language, however, comes in the years 802 to 807, in the context of a direct intrusion of imperial authority into the world of the charters, that is, in records of a set of judicial hearings, or *placita*, involving Freising that were presided over by imperial legates, or *missi dominici*.[19] The records deal with disputes over property between Freising and lay Bavarian landholders, as well as between Freising and nearby monasteries. They were written by two different groups of scribes: scribes from Freising[20] and

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[16] See, for example, *TF* 120 (October 788), which is dated to Charlemagne's regnal years, in contrast to *TF* 125 (February 789), which is dated to Tassilo and records a transaction purportedly carried out with Tassilo's permission.

[17] Examples: king – *TF* 171 (794); lord king – *TF* 127a (790), *TF* 140 (791); the lord and great king – *TF* 176 (798); the most glorious king – *TF* 126 (790). Charlemagne receives his full title in *TF* 120 (788), *TF* 166a (793), *TF* 172 (794). Compare Fichtenau, '"Politische" Datierungen', pp. 502–03.

[18] *TF* 182 (802).

[19] See Brown, *Unjust Seizure*, p. 8 and pp. 102–23.

[20] The Freising scribes whom I will mention include Horskeo, Tagabert, Adalperht, Emicho, Heimo, Pirhtilo, Undeo, Starcholf, Amalricus, and Cozroh himself. I have concluded that they were attached to the Freising cathedral church either because they appear as scribes

scribes who were attached to the most powerful and prestigious of the *missi*, Archbishop Arn of Salzburg.[21]

In these dispute records, both those written by Arn of Salzburg's scribes and those penned by Freising scribes, an emperor was someone who could send out representatives, namely the *missi*, and someone whose authority acted on people through orders issued to those representatives.[22] An emperor was someone who could grant immunities to ecclesiastical institutions and who could levy fines.[23] Most important, an emperor was somebody to whom one took an oath of loyalty. A *placitum* report again from 802 has witnesses swearing to their testimony 'according to the oath of allegiance that they swore in that year to the lord Charles the great emperor'.[24] In other words, according to this record the bond between an emperor and his subjects did not rest on the subjects' residence in an empire, but rather in their sworn allegiance to the person of the emperor.

According to records written by members of both groups of scribes, Charlemagne's *imperium* was not a place or geographical entity. Nor did it have an existence independent of the emperor. Instead, *imperium* was a quality of rule, also expressed in the verb *imperare*. This kind of rule was somehow different from royal rule, expressed by the noun *regnum* and the verb *regnare*. The scribes made this plain by distinguishing between Charlemagne's regnal years and his imperial years. For example, in 802 one of Arn of Salzburg's notaries dated a record to 'the 33rd year and the second of the royal and imperial rule of our lord Charles the most serene augustus' (the Latin reads: *regnante et imperante*).[25] A Freising scribe finished off a record the same year by referring to Charlemagne's imperial years only: 'in the second year of the imperial rule (*anno secundo imperii*) of the lord Charles the most serene augustus'.[26]

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in the Freising collection more than once, because they are attested as Freising clergy around the same time that they appear as scribes, because they say they were writing at the orders of the Bishop of Freising, or some combination of the three. Cozroh, of course, took care of his attribution to Freising by identifying himself as the compiler of the Freising cartulary. See the name index to *TF*: II, 577–915; on Tagabert in particular see below at notes 31–33.

[21] On the scribes attached to Arn of Salzburg, who were named Bertharius and Egipald, see Brown, *Unjust Seizure*, pp. 111–12.

[22] See, for example, *TF* 193ab (803) and *TF* 227 (806).

[23] See *TF* 184 (802).

[24] *TF* 186. The witnesses are asked to swear 'per sacramentum fidelitatis quem domno Karolo magno imperatori ipso praesente anno iuraverunt'. On the oath, see Matthias Becher, *Eid und Herrschaft: Untersuchung zum Herrscherethos Karls des Großen* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1993), pp. 78–87, 88–144, and 195–201.

[25] *TF* 183 (802): Bertharius. See also *TF* 184b, likewise written by Bertharius: 'anno XXXIII. et secundo regnante et imperante domno nostro Carolo gloriosissimo augusto'. Bertharius once dates to Charles's *imperium* only, in *TF* 197 (804): 'anno quarto imperii domni nostri Karoli serenissimi augusti'.

[26] *TF* 184a, written by Horskeo.

The following year, Arn of Salzburg's notary took it so far as to distinguish quite carefully between Charlemagne's imperial rule and his rule as King of Francia and Italy; he dated a *placitum* report to 'the fourth year of the empire (*imperium*) of our lord Charles and the 34th of his rule (*regnum*) in Francia and the 30th in Italia'.[27]

There is, however, one important difference between the *placitum* records written by Arn of Salzburg's notaries and those written by Freising scribes: some Freising scribes did not distinguish carefully between *regnum* and *imperium*. For example, some of Charlemagne's rights and powers (such as granting immunities or levying fines) that Arn's notaries referred to as imperial are described by individual Freising scribes as royal (such as *debitus regalis* as opposed to *debitus imperialis*).[28]

In the greater Carolingian world outside of Bavaria, *regnum* was a fluid term that was in general not strictly separable from *imperium*. According to Hans-Werner Goetz, in an exhaustive 1987 study of political language in Carolingian narrative historiography, the words *regnum* and *imperium* both expressed a ruler's lordship (*Herrschaft*).[29] Writers could use both more or less interchangeably, at least if the ruler under discussion had been crowned emperor. An *imperator* could wield either *regnum* or *imperium*; he could even still be called a king (*rex*). A king, however, if he had not been crowned emperor, could not wield *imperium*. The term *imperium* seems, therefore, to have been bound up with the imperial title and therefore narrower than *regnum*.[30] Both terms were also used by writers of history to denote territories within which rulers exercised their authority, territories that moreover had firm boundaries. This element of the words' semantic field, argues Goetz, grew in importance as the ninth century progressed, until the terms came to denote political entities that existed separately from individual rulers.

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[27] *TF* 193a (803): Bertharius. Compare Fichtenau, '"Politische" Datierungen', pp. 518–19. On p. 503, Fichtenau points out a charter written by the Freising scribe Adalperht, *TF* 186 (802), that is dated rather oddly as follows: 'regnante et imperante domno Karolo magno imperatore anno XXXV. et in Baiouuaria II'. Since Charlemagne in 802 had been ruling in Bavaria for longer than two years, this was most likely (suggests Fichtenau) a scribal error; the scribe, perhaps out of old habit, put *in Baiouuaria* for *imperii*.

[28] See, for example, the two different versions of the dispute record *TF* 184, one written by the Freising scribe Horskeo (*TF* 184a) and the other by Arn of Salzburg's notary Bertharius (*TF* 184b); in *TF* 184a Horskeo writes that the defendant was allowed to return the disputed property 'etiam sine conpositione emunitatis regis et sine debito regali'; the similar phrase in Bertharius's *TF* 184b reads 'sine conpositione vel debitum imperialem et emendationem emunitatis'.

[29] Goetz, '*Regnum*', esp. pp. 121–26 and p. 171.

[30] Although Goetz, '*Regnum*', p. 121, does note a comment by Einhard in his *Life of Charlemagne* that in the time of the Merovingian kings, the *opes et potentia regni* had devolved to the Carolingian mayors of the palace, to whom the *summa imperii* had come; apparently, in Einhard's view, a mayor could wield *imperium*.

The particular group of Freising dispute charters I have discussed here indicates that in the years 802 to 807, the appearance of Carolingian imperial authority in the area around Freising, embodied in the person of the *missus* Arn of Salzburg, brought with it a view of empire that valued a precise distinction between *imperium* and *regnum*. Charlemagne exercised an authority as Emperor that was similar in substance to but differed in kind from his authority as King. By virtue of being *imperator* he wielded *imperium*; by virtue of being *rex* he wielded *regnum*. The regions where the different qualities of rule applied depended on which of his titles applied to which region. This idea of empire that came to Bavaria with Arn of Salzburg's scribes affected at least some of their counterparts in Freising; some of these dispute records written by Freising scribes use rulership language in the same way as those produced by Arn's scribes. The fact that some do not, however, suggests that some Freising scribes remained unaffected by court ideology, that is, that they continued to understand and to use the terms *regnum* and *imperium* in the way that Goetz has shown was typical of historiography written throughout the Carolingian world. These Freising scribes did not distinguish carefully between *regnum* and *imperium* because they did not consider the distinction to be important.

It is this fluid view of the relationship between *regnum* and *imperium* that characterizes the far greater body of Freising charters that record normal transactions rather than judicial assemblies overseen by imperial *missi*. Here we get to know individual Freising scribes a bit better, especially a monk and cleric named Tagabert. Tagabert shows up for the first time as a Freising scribe in a charter of 791, with the rank of subdeacon.[31] Over the next three decades he came to dominate the Freising records; he is named as scribe in 131 of 381 records produced between 791 and 825. At the same time, he went from subdeacon to deacon and finally to priest.[32] Tagabert must have been Freising's chief charter writer. He is the only scribe to appear doing anything beyond writing a charter; in one case he describes himself going along as witness and scribe on a horseback survey of the boundaries of some disputed property.[33]

After Charlemagne became Emperor, Tagabert and his colleagues at first distinguished between *imperium* and *regnum*. In March 803, Tagabert dated a record to the '36th and third year of the royal rule and imperial rule (*regnante et imperante*) of Charles the great augustus'.[34] Yet very quickly Freising's scribes started blurring the distinction. In 804, for example, Tagabert dated a record to the 'fourth year of the rule (*regnum*) of Charles the most glorious emperor (*imperator*)'.[35] In some cases,

[31] *TF* 139.

[32] Deacon: *TF* 256 (807); monk: *TF* 172 (794); priest and monk: *TF* 333b (815). Tagabert appears for the last time in *TF* 520 (825).

[33] *TF* 323 (814).

[34] *TF* 192. See also the scribe Heimo in *TF* 194 (804): 'anno XXXVI regnante Karolo gloriossissimi rege Francorum et imperii eius anno IIII'.

[35] *TF* 196. See also inter alia *TF* 202 (804 – Tagabert): 'anno regni domni nostri serenissimi Karoli imperatoris quarto'; *TF* 226 (806 – Starcholf): 'in anno VI regni domni Karoli

Charlemagne was even still a king. In a charter written sometime between 806 and 807 that describes a man taking a property dispute all the way to Charlemagne's palace, the unnamed scribe persistently refers to Charles throughout the records as 'the lord king'.[36] The failure by Freising's scribes to maintain the distinction between *imperium* and *regnum* indicates that they did not really see any substantive difference between the two. It appears that as far as they were concerned, an emperor was just a bigger and better king.[37]

Reinforcing this impression is the fact that although Freising's scribes ended up referring persistently to the Emperor's rule as *regnum*, they quickly stopped dating to Charlemagne's true regnal years as King of the Franks. Charlemagne's imperial years became the only ones worth using, even though they were often referred to as the years of his *regnum*. For example, in the charter of 804 cited above, Tagabert dated to the 'fourth year of the *regnum* of our lord the most serene Charles the emperor', while his colleague Emicho in the same year dated a charter 'in the fourth year that our lord Charles augustus ruled (*regnante*)'.[38]

Noticeably rare in the Freising charters is any language stressing the Emperor's Christian attributes or mission. Apparently this was not an element of Charlemagne's rule that the Freising scribes felt was worth highlighting. Only two Freising charters cast Charlemagne in any kind of religious light. The first comes from the period preceding his imperial coronation. It notes that the 'most clement, most Christian and great king Charles, inspired by divine grace', as a pious act allowed a count to give some disputed property to Freising.[39] The only charter to refer to Charlemagne in a similar way after his imperial coronation comes from the year 807. The charter records a gift of property and churches to Freising. The scribe Alperius, who was not a Freising regular and whom I suspect was attached to the property donor in some

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imperatoris'. Tagabert could be quite inconsistent. In *TF* 259 (807) he goes back to using the term *imperium*, this time very precisely: 'anno gloriosissimi imperatoris Karoli VII ex quo ad imperium successit'.

[36] *TF* 232.

[37] I am forced to disagree here with Fichtenau, '"Politische" Datierungen', p. 518, where he states that in the Bavarian charters after 800 Charlemagne was Emperor and no longer a King. As the evidence I present makes clear, some Freising scribes still though of him as a King and many, if not most, still thought of his rule as *regnum*.

[38] *TF* 196; *TF* 199. See also the charters cited in note 35 above as well as inter alia *TF* 201 (804 – no scribe named): 'anno domni Karolo quarto'; *TF* 204 (804 – Emicho): 'regnante domno nostro Karolo augusto anno IIII'; *TF* 218 (805 – Tagabert): 'anno gloriosissimi imperatoris Karoli augusti quinto'. But note again the inconsistency: *TF* 223 (806 – no scribe noted): 'anno VI imperii gloriosissimi Karoli imperatoris'.

[39] *TF* 166a (793 – no scribe given): 'Audiens autem hoc clementissimus atque christianissimus magnus rex Karolus divina inspirante gratia in elymosinam.'

way, described Charles as 'the most excellent and most pious emperor, in the seventh year of his imperial rule (*imperium*)'.[40]

Charlemagne's rule had nothing to do with Rome or the Romans. From the perspective of Freising's scribes, Rome was a place to which one went, usually on pilgrimage. The Romans were the people who lived there.[41] (A note here in passing: the Freising records contain no references to 'Romani' in the sense of a surviving romanized population like that of Aquitaine or Rhaetia, although from other sources we know that there was such a population in southern Bavaria.)[42]

The only evident effort to evoke the Roman past comes in a charter from the beginning of 807. This charter records the settlement of a dispute over the distribution of tithes between the Bavarian bishops and abbots, a dispute that was settled at a synod in Salzburg. The scribe Theodoric does not appear to have come from Freising; this is his only appearance as scribe in the Freising charters. Theoderic tacked a Roman or imperial sounding flourish onto the end of an otherwise perfectly normal dating clause: 'in the seventh year of the rule of Charles the glorious augustus after his consulate (*post consulatum eius*)'. This reference to a consulship has absolutely no meaning. It must represent an attempt to add an imperial lustre to Charlemagne's name.[43]

The picture of the Emperor and his *imperium* that I have presented so far generally holds true for the remainder of Charlemagne's reign. The standard was set by Tagabert, who regularly dated with the terse phrase 'in the year of the most glorious emperor Charles augustus' (over time he gradually stopped bothering with *regnum*).[44] Charlemagne is always Emperor. The scribes consistently date to his imperial years rather than to the years of his rule as King of the Franks, yet when they refer to his rule at all, they use the word *regnum* (except for a couple of brief flickers, one in 811 and another in 813, when two unnamed scribes briefly revive the

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[40] *TF* 255; I suspect that Alperius was not a regular Freising scribe because he does not appear as scribe anywhere else in the Freising collection and because he notes that he has written the charter at the request of the donor, a priest named Egilricus.

[41] Rome as a place to which one went: *TF* 166b (793–802), 359 (816), 410 (819), 434b (820), 557a (828); Romans as the people who lived there: *TF* 120 (788), 166a (793), 172 (794).

[42] Brown, *Unjust Seizure*, p. 48; Heinz Dopsch, 'Zum Anteil der Romanen und ihrer Kultur an der Stammesbildung der Bajuwaren', in *Die Bajuwaren von Severin bis Tassilo 488–788*, ed. by Hermann Dannheimer and Heinz Dopsch (Munich: Prähistorische Staatssammlung, 1988), pp. 47–54.

[43] *TF* 248. This phrase is different from the older and equally meaningless phrases *sub die consule* and *die consule*; Fichtenau, *Urkundenwesen*, p. 14, as well as p. 13 n. 11, and '"Politische" Datierungen', pp. 477–78.

[44] For example, *TF* 260b (807); *TF* 261 (807); *TF* 264b (807–808); *TF* 270 (808); *TF* 275 (808).

distinction between *regnum* and *imperium*).[45] The charters betray no sense at all that Charlemagne governed a geographical *imperium* that had an existence independent of the Emperor. Nor do they make much effort to highlight the Emperor's Christian attributes or mission.

On 28 January 814, Charlemagne died at Aachen.[46] Freising's scribes reacted quickly; on 13 March, Tagabert dated a charter to 'the first year of the lord emperor Louis'.[47] As this example indicates, Tagabert and his colleagues at first continued to refer to their new ruler in the same way as they had their old.[48] In the course of the year 815, however, things start to change, at first slowly and then more rapidly. One begins to get the sense that our scribes were picking up new ideological messages being sent out by the court. First, the distinction between *regnum* and *imperium* reappears. However, it appears in a new context: the reconstitution of Bavaria as a subkingdom under the rule of Louis's eldest son, Lothar.[49] On 20 April 815, for example, Tagabert dated a charter to 'the second year of the imperial rule of the glorious Louis and the first year of Lothar king in Bavaria'.[50] With this, Tagabert distinguished quite clearly between the father's imperial rule and the son's royal rule. Yet he took notice of both, indicating that Louis's *imperium* both superseded and embraced Lothar's *regnum* in Bavaria.

Nonetheless, it still seems that the Freising clerical community did not really see any difference between the two, because some scribes quickly started confusing them again. In 815 a scribe named Pirhtilo dated a charter to 'the second year of the rule (*regnante*) of the emperor Louis and the first of the rule (*regnante*) of Lothar king in Bavaria'.[51] Shortly afterwards, however, he dated to 'the second year of the imperial rule (*imperium*) of Louis augustus and the first of Lothar ruling (*regnante*) in Bavaria'.[52] Pirhtilo even managed to come up with something entirely new that year: a charter dated to 'the second year of the imperial rule (*imperare*) of Louis augustus and the first of Lothar dominating (*dominare*) in Bavaria'.[53]

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[45] *TF* 298 (811): 'anno quadragesimo tertio domni Karoli et imperii eius XI'; *TF* 306 (813): 'anno regni domni Karoli regis et imperii eius XIII'.

[46] Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme*, p. 91; Collins, *Charlemagne*, p. 101; Riché, *Carolingians*, p. 139.

[47] *TF* 315.

[48] See also, for example, *TF* 317 (814 – Tagabert): 'anno primo gloriosissimi Hludouuici imperatoris' or *TF* 327 (814 – no scribe given): 'in anno gloriosissimo primo regnante Hludouuico imperatore'.

[49] Brown, *Unjust Seizure*, p. 16, as well as the literature cited in note 5 above.

[50] *TF* 333b. See also *TF* 334, 335, 337, 338, 341, 344, 345, 350, 352, all from 815, and Fichtenau, '"Politische" Datierungen', p. 503 and p. 530.

[51] *TF* 339.

[52] *TF* 344. See also Pirhtilo's charter *TF* 345.

[53] *TF* 352.

In 815 the scribes also began to give Louis the Pious a Christian lustre. In March of that year Tagabert dated a record to 'the second year of the imperial rule of Louis the pious prince and the first of Lothar king in Bavaria'.[54] Then, in May, he did the same thing twice in succession, producing in the space of a few months more references to the Emperor as pious than Charlemagne had earned from Freising in his entire career.[55]

In the following year, and continuing through 818, the changes and innovations in Freising ruler references come thick and fast. The Emperor becomes the *most* pious; Pirhtilo, for example, in January 816 dated a charter to 'the second year of the imperial rule (*imperium*) of the most pious and most brilliant (*piissimus* and *clarissimus*) Louis augustus'.[56] Lothar as King of Bavaria drops out of sight. In the next month, an unknown scribe gives us something else new: a dating to 'the third year of the imperial rule of Louis augustus governing the realm (*regnum gubernantem*)'.[57] *Regnum* here has changed its meaning, from a quality of rule to a unitary something over which an emperor exercises his *imperium*.[58] Unfortunately, the scribe does not help us out by specifying which *regnum* he is talking about — it could be that he is referring to Bavaria only.

In August 817, another novelty shows up: an unknown scribe dates a record to the 'fourth year of the imperial rule of Louis Caesar'.[59] This dating clause, which more strongly casts Louis in an imperial light, shows up a month after the Emperor issued his *Ordinatio imperii*. From that point on — the late summer of 817 — we get a veritable explosion of new kinds of ruler references. In January 818, an unknown scribe dated to the 'fifth year of the most glorious augustus Louis, elected by God (*a Deo electi*)'.[60] The same month comes 'in the fifth year of the imperial rule of the most glorious and most excellent Louis exalted by God (*a Deo sublimato*)'.[61] Two months later we find: 'in the fifth year under the command (*sub dictione*) of the most elect of God (*electissimi Dei*) Louis the most pious emperor governing the realm (*regnum*)'.[62]

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[54] *TF* 334.

[55] *TF* 337, *TF* 338.

[56] *TF* 353.

[57] *TF* 355.

[58] Compare Goetz, '*Regnum*', pp. 123–26 and 176.

[59] *TF* 378.

[60] *TF* 391.

[61] *TF* 392.

[62] *TF* 394. See also a second reference to the *imperium* of Louis Caesar in *TF* 392, as well as a description of Louis as the most illustrious and pious augustus holding the principate in *TF* 368a.

Finally, in March 818, an anonymous scribe dates a charter to the 'fifth year of the most glorious emperor Louis, governing the empire (*gubernante imperium*)'.[63] In this dating clause, the scribe used *imperium* in a qualitatively different way than it had ever been used before in the Freising charters: not as a kind of rule, but as something that was being ruled. Moreover, the word *imperium* seems here to have had a general and all-inclusive meaning. Charlemagne had used the phrase *gubernans imperium* in his diploma titulature after 800, but it was the *imperium Romanum* he was governing, in explicit contrast to his kingship of the Franks and the Lombards.[64] Here, however, there is no such distinction. Louis is cast as no more and no less than the emperor who governed an empire.[65]

But — and the 'but' is very important — along with all of these changes and innovations taking place in the period 816–18, we continue to see the characteristic variety, flexibility, and creativity in the language Freising scribes used to describe their rulers. The ruler references I have just described all differ from one another in the details of their language and in the ruler attributes they choose to stress. One scribe might describe Louis as the elect of God while another left God out of it but said that Louis was governing an empire.

Moreover, not all of the scribes reacted to Louis's rule in the same way. Most of the innovative ruler references I have pointed out came from the pens of anonymous scribes. They were not written by our named Freising regulars. Tagabert, for example, despite some initial excitement, remained quietly conservative. By 817, he had settled down to the steady phrase 'in the such and such year of the glorious emperor Louis'.[66] Tagabert, and others, on occasion even still thought of their ruler as a king rather than as an emperor. In April of 816, Tagabert wrote a charter describing how the Bishop of Freising gave a benefice to a woman in recognition of the services she had done Freising while serving as a handmaiden at court to the 'royal daughters (*filiae regalis*)'.[67]

One real, but unfortunately anonymous, conservative even reached back once for a formula more characteristic of the reign of Charlemagne prior to his imperial coronation; in September 816, this scribe dated to 'the third year of Louis augustus governing the kingdom of the Franks and of the Lombards'.[68] This is the only time this phrase shows up for Louis the Pious.

The ferment and variety in the Freising ruler references continue on into the year 819. Louis the Pious appears as the most blessed, the most glorious emperor, the most benign augustus who held the realm upright (*regnum fulcitante*), governed it,

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[63] *TF* 396.

[64] See above at note 4.

[65] Compare Goetz, '*Regnum*', pp. 123–26 and 176.

[66] See, for example, *TF* 376, 379b, 380, 381, 383, 384, 385, etc.

[67] *TF* 358.

[68] *TF* 365.

and kept it in order (*ordinante*).[69] Many scribes continued to stress the Emperor's Christian attributes; in a new phrase that appears for the first time in the autumn of 819, first an anonymous scribe and then Pirhtilo described Louis as ruling 'by Christ's mercy (*Christo propitio*)'.[70] At around the same time, in September 819, comes a second reference to Louis the most pious emperor governing the empire (*imperium gubernante*).[71]

In the 820s, however, the Freising ruler references start to change once more. The dating clauses in the charters gradually become simpler and more conservative (by conservative I mean how they had been under Charlemagne). Louis the Pious remained *imperator*; Tagabert continues to set the standard with a steady 'in the year so-and so of the emperor Louis' (sometimes with 'glorious' added).[72] Occasionally Louis was the most glorious, serene, mild, or benign emperor, once even the most celebrated (*oppinatissimus*), frequently governing his realm (*regnum*).[73] No longer, however, did he govern an empire; the scribes restricted their (now rare) use of the noun *imperium* to its original meaning of a quality of rule.[74] These observations even hold true in two major dispute cases from 822 that involved imperial *missi*.[75]

By the mid- to late 820s, the new ideological winds blowing from the court seem to have stopped, at least as far as Freising was concerned. Louis the Pious was simply emperor, often in explicit contrast to his son, the Bavarian king Louis the German, who took up his *regnum* in Bavaria in 825.[76] The elder Louis sometimes

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[69] See, for example, *TF* 412: 'anno beatissimi ac gloriosissimi Hloduuuici imperatoris regnum regente'; *TF* 414: 'anno Hloduuuici benignissimi augusti regnum fulcitante'; *TF* 415: 'anno Hloduuuico imperatoris et ordinante regnum'; *TF* 419: 'anno beatissimo Hludouuico regnum gubernante'.

[70] *TF* 424, *TF* 427.

[71] *TF* 421.

[72] For example, *TF* 448, 449, 450, 465, 477, etc.

[73] Most glorious: *TF* 463 (822); most serene: *TF* 437 (820); most mild: *TF* 489 (823); most benign: *TF* 466 (822); most celebrated: *TF* 452 (821); governing the realm: *TF* 439 (820), *TF* 459 (822), *TF* 460 (822), *TF* 472 (822), and *TF* 489 (823).

[74] See *TF* 458 (822): 'anno domni nostri Hluduuuici imperii sui'; *TF* 490 (823): 'anno Hloduuuico piissimo augusto imperante'; similarly *TF* 496 (823).

[75] *TF* 463 – no scribe given; *TF* 466 – Pirhtilo.

[76] See *TF* 529 (826), 532 (826), 533 (826), 534b (826), 535 (826), 536 (826), 538a (826), 553 (828), 554 (828), 555 (828), 556a (828), 557a (828), 559 (828), 560 (828), 571 (828), 572 (828), 573 (828), etc. up to 585a (829), 591 (830); Brown, *Unjust Seizure*, p. 16, as well as the literature cited in note 5 above, and Fichtenau, '"Politische" Datierungen', p. 530. Fichtenau here notes that the Freising charters date once to Louis the German already in 817. However, I cannot find this dating, only a single dating to Louis's elder brother Lothar as King in Bavaria alongside his father the Emperor: *TF* 372 (15 April 817).

exercised *imperium*, but this is rarely mentioned. When it is, it is simply, as it had been for Charlemagne, a kind of rule.[77]

The rebellions of 830 and 833 against Louis the Pious and the civil wars that followed apparently caused upset and confusion at the Freising cathedral church. I say this because, in the early 830s, Freising's scribes suddenly stopped writing charters. Cozroh's charter collection preserves only six records for the years 833–35, and none from 831 or 832; in contrast, we have fifteen records from the year 830 alone.[78] In the few charters that the scribes did write, we can see them struggling to decide who was really in charge in Bavaria, the Emperor or his son Louis the German. In 833, Cozroh himself (who shows up as a writer of Freising charters early in the previous decade)[79] dropped Louis the Pious altogether and dated only to Louis the German as King of the Bavarians.[80] The following year, Cozroh put Louis the Pious back in again.[81] In 835, a new scribe, the subdeacon Amalricus, dated again only to Louis the German, whom he referred to as 'our king in Bavaria governing the realm (*regnum gubernante*)' — here *regnum* apparently meant Bavaria only.[82] In January 836, Cozroh dropped Louis the Pious again, only to put him back again the following month.[83]

This confusion or uncertainty on the part of various scribes continues throughout the decade. Along the way, the two rulers had to compete increasingly with a relatively new phenomenon: *anno domini* dating. AD dating shows up only sporadically in the Freising charters before the reign of Louis the Pious: twice before the Carolingian conquest and once in the last years of Charlemagne.[84] Starting in 819 it shows up in earnest, but still irregularly and usually (though not always) paired with a regnal date.[85] But now, in the late 830s, AD dating appears to have been increasingly attractive to Freising scribes uncertain of where the locus of political authority

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[77] See, for example, *TF* 542 (827): 'anno [. . .] quo Hloduuuicus imperator imperium accepit'; *TF* 544 (827): 'anno Hludouuici imperii sui'; *TF* 548 (827): 'anno Hludouuici imperii sui'; *TF* 551 (828): 'anno Hluduuuici imperii sui'. Similarly *TF* 574a (828).

[78] After a run of fifteen charters dated to 830 (*TF* 589 – *TF* 603; *TF* 604 is questionably dated to *c*. 830), we jump to the year 833 for two records (*TF* 605 and 606) then to 834 for three records (*TF* 607abc). *TF* 608 is dated to 835. In 836 the number of charters picks up again with *TF* 609 and following.

[79] *TF* 440 (820).

[80] *TF* 606.

[81] *TF* 607a.

[82] *TF* 608.

[83] *TF* 609 and 611. Compare Fichtenau, '"Politische" Datierungen', pp. 530–31.

[84] *TF* 11 (758): AD + Duke Tassilo; *TF* 23 (765): AD + King Pippin; *TF* 308 (813): AD only. See Fichtenau, '"Politische" Datierungen', p. 478.

[85] See the charters from *TF* 407 (819) onwards; the use of AD dating increases steadily, especially between 825 and 830.

in Bavaria lay. From 836 we begin to see more and more charters with no references at all to either ruler, just an AD date.[86]

The final reference in the Freising cartulary to Louis the Pious comes in a charter of 10 December 839, written by Cozroh. Cozroh dated the charter to 'the year of our lord 839, in the 26th year of the Emperor Louis and the 12th of our King Louis'.[87]

Even after the elder Louis's death six months later, Freising scribes were still unable to find their political footing. As the competition and fighting between Louis the Pious's three surviving sons went on, Freising's scribes simply gave up referring to rulers at all. From 841 through 847, the majority of Freising charters are dated *anno domini* only, save for a few rare exceptions, including one strange charter from 841 that dates both AD and to 'the imperial rule (*imperium*) of our King Louis'.[88] For this scribe, at least, *imperium* was not limited to emperors.[89] Only in 848, apparently, did things settle down enough for the scribes to start to feel comfortable again dating to their ruler with any frequency.[90] By 850 Louis the German's regnal years appear regularly in Freising dating clauses alongside the AD date, and from then on the twin datings dominate the charters.[91]

From the perspective of the Freising charter collection, then, the 'Carolingian Empire' looked very different from an empire as we might conceive it, or as the Romans had conceived theirs. Freising's scribes understood themselves to be living under the rule of an emperor, who bore the title *imperator* and exercised *imperium* — something that was essentially indistinguishable from *regnum* except in rank. The scribes and the people they wrote about in their charters owed allegiance to the emperor not by virtue of their citizenship in his empire but because they had sworn an oath to him. The emperor in turn wielded his authority both directly and indirectly through representatives who carried his mandate. Moreover, the emperor's *imperium* was not impersonal. How Freising's scribes characterized it depended a great deal on which particular member of the Carolingian house they were talking about.

The only change to this picture comes in the years between 815 and 820, when some Freising scribes began to pick up and rebroadcast Louis the Pious's attempt to project a new and more impersonal idea of empire, that is, to base his rule on the

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[86] See *TF* 610 (836), 613 (836), 616 (836), 617 (836), 618 (836), 620 (836), 621 (836), 623 (836), 628 (837), 633 (839). In contrast, only three charters produced between 819 and 836 use AD dating alone: *TF* 447 (821), *TF* 583 and 584 (829).

[87] *TF* 634.

[88] The exceptions, which are all dated jointly to the AD and to the regnal years of Louis the German, are the unusual *TF* 639 ('anno domini DCCCXLI [. . .] anno imperii Hludouuici regis nostri'), then *TF* 666 (844), *TF* 690 (847).

[89] Compare Goetz, '*Regnum*', p. 121.

[90] *TF* 695, *TF* 697a, *TF* 700.

[91] The (more or less) unbroken sequence of paired AD and regnal dates sets in with *TF* 719.

idea of a unitary empire, governed by a Christian emperor, that comprised all the peoples of western Christendom. In other words, court ideology did matter; people in the localities did pick up and grapple with the different self-images that the successive Carolingian courts projected. As at the court of Louis the Pious, however, so too at Freising: the new imperial ideology had only a transitory impact. By the time the first rebellions against Louis's rule had broken out, that impact had vanished from the Freising charters without a trace.

As interesting as these conclusions might be, however, the Freising charters have also shown us something more interesting. Freising's scribes did not march in lockstep with court ideology. Instead, they wrote about their rulers in variable and creative ways. At one and the same time we can see the conservatism of someone like Tagabert alongside the flexibility, even excitability, of the anonymous scribes who referred to Louis the Pious's realm as an empire. In other words, successive ideas of empire went out from the court to the localities, where they came into contact and blended not with a single local understanding of what imperial rulership meant, but with various individual understandings of what imperial rulership meant, and with different individual personalities. This process left its mark on the sources in the form of a kaleidescopic picture, whose colours we can see changing in reaction to what was broadcast from the court, but which maintained stubborn tones of its own.

Regina nitens sanctissima Hemma: Queen Emma (827–876), Bishop Witgar of Augsburg, and the Witgar-Belt

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A display case in the Augsburg episcopal museum contains an intriguing yet oddly neglected artefact of Carolingian material culture. This is the belt of Witgar, the Bishop of Augsburg from *c*. 860 to 887 and chancellor of the first east Frankish Carolingian king, Louis the German (826/40–76). After more than eleven centuries, the Witgar-Belt remains a striking testament to the splendour of the east Frankish court. Measuring 135 centimeters (53 inches) in length, the belt is made of red silk woven with golden thread, and its trapezoidal ends are embroidered with eagles and adorned with tassels and pearls. The most unusual aspect of the Witgar-Belt is that it originally contained a precious relic: a piece of the belt of the Virgin Mary. However, the Witgar-Belt was subsequently taken apart and the relic was removed, and the two halves of the belt were resewn together backward. The red embroidered dedication along the belt's length records that it was a gift to Witgar from Louis the German's wife, Queen Emma (827–76). It reads, in its original order: 'Hanc zonam regina nitens sanctissima Hemma Witgario tribuit sacro spiramine plenum' (*sic*) ('The shining and most holy Queen Emma gave this belt to Witgar, a man filled with sacred breath (i.e. the Holy Spirit)').[1]

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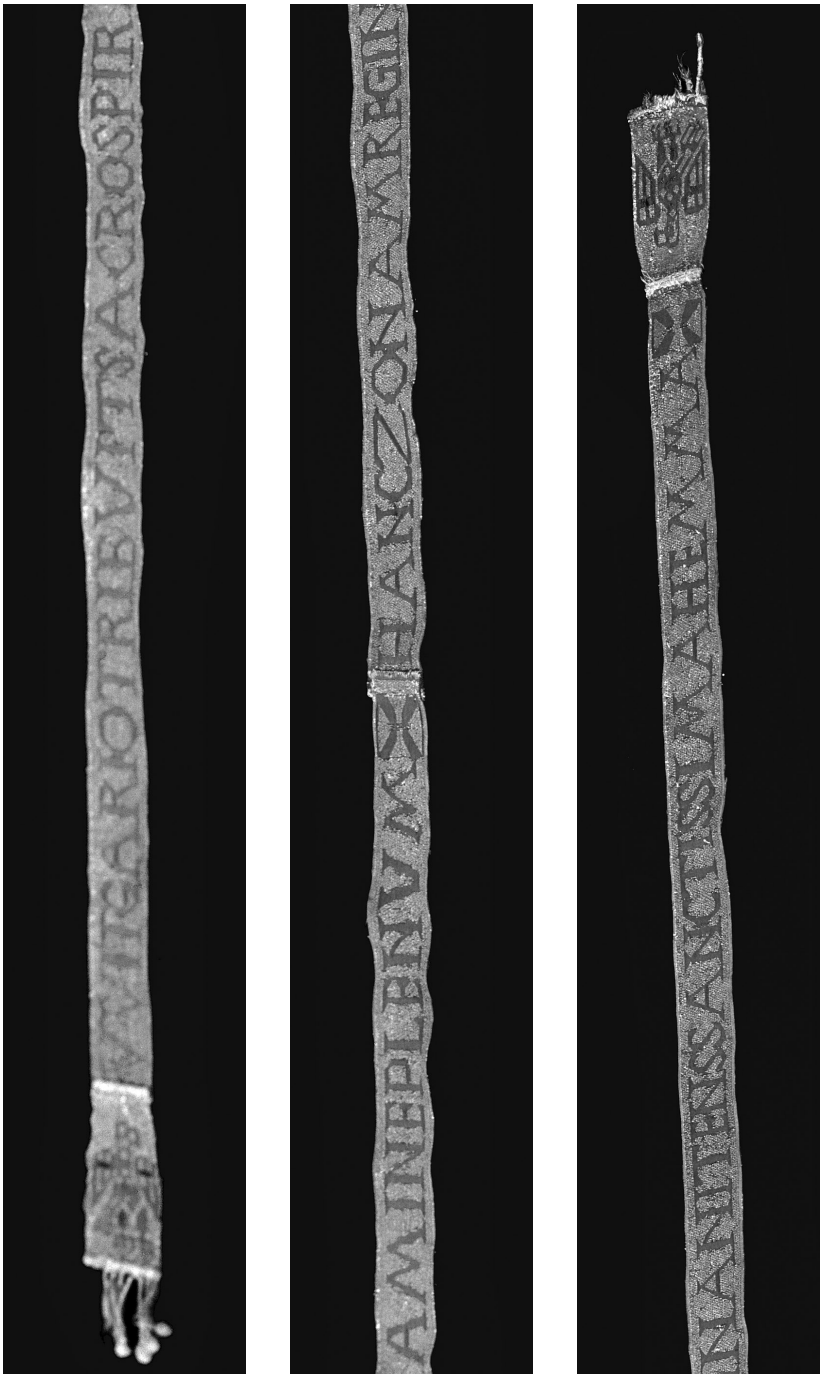
[1] The Witgar-Belt is catalogued as Augsburg, Diözesanmuseum, Inv. No. DM III, 1. Concerning this artefact, see Joseph Braun, *Die Liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1907), pp. 101–11; *Sakrale Gewänder des Mittelalters: Ausstellung im bayerischen Nationalmuseum München 8. Juli bis 25. September 1955* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1955), no. 4, p. 14 and illustration 1; Percy

This essay seeks to use the Witgar-Belt as a window onto Emma's shadowy career and the changing political, ceremonial, and ideological roles of Carolingian queens during the ninth century. Louis the German's wife was the longest-lived Carolingian queen on record, reigning for some forty-nine years between 827 and 876. In spite of her unusually long career, Emma remains a little-studied royal wife amid the important recent scholarship on early medieval queenship.[2] Emma's obscurity arises from a common obstacle when studying early medieval queens: her infrequent appearance in the surviving written evidence. But the Witgar-Belt, in conjunction with several other neglected sources, can shed new light on Emma's reign and important trends in ninth-century Carolingian queenship. In particular, Emma's career illustrates the opportunities for Carolingian queens to participate in the public representation of royal power, but mainly through circumscribed female gender roles available to them, including as wife, mother, mistress of the royal household, and holy woman. The Witgar-Belt itself calls attention to the ways in which the king's wife could use the gender-specific activities of weaving and gift-giving to make complex ideological statements about her own authority as queen. In spite of her participation in royal representation, however, the queen's position was continually in flux and often insecure. She remained firmly under the patriarchal power of the king, and ongoing political struggles in the court and kingdom might at any moment cause rival aristocratic factions, or even her husband, to turn against her. Throughout the ninth century, queens like Emma were especially vulnerable to charges of sexual infidelity, witchcraft, and other serious crimes that could be used as political weapons against them. In this way, an investigation into Emma's career and the Witgar-Belt highlights both the participation of Carolingian queens in the construction of royal ideology as well as the constant limitations and challenges to their power.

Ernst Schramm and Florentine Mütherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1962), no. 32, pp. 126, 238; *Suevia Sacra: Frühe Kunst in Schwaben* (Augsburg: Städt. Kunstsammlung, 1973), no. 203, pp. 195–96; *Augsburg: Geschichte in Bilddokumenten*, ed. by Friedrich Blendinger and Wolfgang Zorn (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1976), no. 35, p. 35. Norbert Fickermann, 'Zum Text der Aufschrift eines Gürtels aus Ottonenbesitz', *DA*, 13 (1957), 529–33 (p. 533), noted that the grammatically correct reading of *plenum* should be *pleno*, thus referring to *Witgario* and not to *zonam*. (Theologically speaking, a belt, even one that contains a relic, cannot be full of the Holy Spirit — only a person can.) I discuss the significance of this grammatical error below.

[2] For brief discussions of Emma's career, see Ernst Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, vol. II (repr. of the 2nd 1887 Leipzig edn, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960), pp. 424–25, 436; Josef Fleckenstein, 'Hemma', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. IV, ed. by Robert Autry (Munich: Artemis, 1989), col. 2128; Wilfried Hartmann, *Ludwig der Deutsche* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002), pp. 64–66; Boris Bigott, *Ludwig der Deutsche und die Reichskirche im Ostfränkischen Reich (826–876)* (Husum: Matthiesen Verlag, 2002), pp. 31–32, 55. For Emma and Louis the German's reign, see also my forthcoming *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817–876* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).



The Witgar-Belt. Courtesy of the Diözesanmuseum St Afra, Augsburg.

Emma and Ninth-Century Queenship

Emma lived during a pivotal era for the formation of medieval queenship.[3] Before Charlemagne's death in 814, the status and authority of Carolingian wives seem to have been rather limited. Carolingian rulers often had informal concubines as well as formal wives (the difference between the two often was unclear), and the king's consort had no clearly defined royal duties. However, the role of Carolingian queens slowly began to change during the course of the ninth century. Inspired by the Carolingian reforms of the Frankish Church, churchmen gradually came to expect their kings to take legitimate wives (as opposed to concubines) recognized through a formal betrothal, wedding, and gift of a dowry.[4] Although Carolingian men continued to have mistresses and illegitimate children, by the later ninth century they came to accept the notion that lawful wives were preferable for bearing them throne-worthy heirs with royal names like 'Louis', 'Charles', and 'Pippin'.

At the same time, Carolingian kings increasingly included their wives and daughters in monarchic representation.[5] Since they had deposed the last Merovingian king and seized the Frankish throne in 751, the Carolingians adopted, intensified, and invented a host of symbols and rituals to legitimate their upstart dynasty and sanctify their power: coronations, consecrations, acclamations, royal portraiture, and the wearing of ornate regalia.[6] The involvement of royal wives in monarchic representation

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[3] The scholarship on early medieval queenship is extensive. See especially Silvia Konecny, 'Die Frauen des karolingischen Königshauses: Die politische Bedeutung der Ehe und die Stellung der Frau in der fränkischen Herrscherfamilie vom 7. bis zum 10. Jahrhundert' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Vienna, 1976); Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983; repr., London: Leicester University Press, 1998); Stafford, 'Powerful Women in the Early Middle Ages: Queens and Abbesses,' in *The Medieval World*, ed. by Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 398–415; Régine Le Jan, 'Douaires et pouvoirs des reines en France et en Germanie (VI^{e}–X^{e} siècle)', reprinted in Régine Le Jan, *Femmes, pouvoir et société dans le haut Moyen Age* (Paris: Picard, 2001), pp. 68–88.

[4] Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers*, pp. 60–71.

[5] Carlrichard Brühl, 'Fränkischer Krönungsbrauch und das Problem der Festkrönungen', *HZ*, 194 (1962), 285–90, 321–26, reviews the evidence for the crowning and anointing of royal women during the eighth and ninth centuries. See further Pauline Stafford, 'Charles the Bald, Judith and England', in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, ed. by Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson, 2nd edn (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1990), pp. 139–53, esp. 145–47; Janet L. Nelson, 'Early Medieval Rites of Queen-Making and the Shaping of Medieval Queenship', in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1997), pp. 301–15.

[6] On this subject, see especially Janet L. Nelson, 'The Lord's Anointed and the People's Choice: Carolingian Royal Ritual', in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. by David Cannadine and Simon Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 137–80.

went back to the Carolingian coup d'état. According to the continuation of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, in 751 Charlemagne's father, Pippin III, 'was raised to the throne of the kingdom with Queen Bertrada by the selection of all the Franks, the consecration of the bishops, and the acceptance of the princes, as the rules of ancient tradition require'.[7] In the course of the ninth century, royal wives played an increasingly prominent role in public rituals of royalty.[8] Charlemagne's son and heir, Louis the Pious (814–40), had his first wife, Ermengard, crowned by Pope Stephen III in 816, and he probably had his second wife, Judith, crowned in 819. As Louis the Pious's sons and grandsons competed with each other for kingdoms and power, they used royal ceremonies involving themselves and their wives to articulate and legitimate their rival political claims. At the same time, Louis the Pious's heirs frequently associated their wives and daughters with the monastic life, either as abbesses or lay proprietors of convents.[9] Convents bestowed a sacred power and space on royal wives and daughters and further liturgified their position as members of the royal family. As a result of this increased participation in monarchic representation and monasticism, queens enjoyed a heightened aura of authority and majesty that sacralized their role as the king's wife.

The queen's elevated ritual and ideological profile reflected her heightened influence in politics. The ninth century witnessed a number of powerful royal wives, including Louis the Pious's second wife, Judith, Charles the Bald's wives, Ermentrude and Richildis, and Louis II of Italy's empress, Engelberga.[10] Although the queen seldom exercised formal public powers like kings and noblemen, she could wield considerable informal influence through her intimate bond with the king and prominence in the palace. This was because the royal court was the political heart of the kingdom, and the nobility's power depended on its access to the king through intermediaries in the royal entourage.[11] The queen therefore could become an

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[7] *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar with its Continuations*, c. 33, ed. by J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1960), pp. 101–02.

[8] Nelson, 'Early Medieval Rites of Queen-Making', pp. 302–03.

[9] Konecny, 'Frauen', pp. 150–51; Rudolf Schieffer, 'Karolingische Töchter', in *Herrschaft, Kirche, Kultur: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Friedrich Prinz zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Georg Jenal (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1993), pp. 125–39; Simon MacLean, 'Queenship, Nunneries and Royal Widowhood in Carolingian Europe', *Past and Present*, 178 (2003), 3–38.

[10] Elizabeth Ward, 'Caesar's Wife: The Career of the Empress Judith, 819–829', in *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)*, ed. by Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 205–27; Jane Hyam, 'Ermentrude and Richildis', in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, ed. by M. Gibson and J. L. Nelson, 2nd edn (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990), pp. 154–68; C. E. Odegaard, 'The Empress Engelberge', *Speculum*, 26 (1951), 77–103.

[11] Stuart Airlie, 'Bonds of Power and Bonds of Association in the Court Circle of Louis the Pious', in *Charlemagne's Heir*, ed. by Godman and Collins, pp. 191–204.

influential patroness and mediator between the court and regional aristocracies, especially on the behalf of her own relatives. Yet the queen's position remained precarious. She was expected to produce male heirs, and the king might try to repudiate her if she failed to do so or if his ever-evolving political machinations made remarriage desirable.[12] Moreover, because the clerical elite viewed women through the lenses of the Bible and monasticism, they tended to place them into one of two diametrically opposed categories: either virtuous Esthers or wicked Jezebels.[13] Indeed, as a symptom of their increasing power, a number of ninth-century queens and princesses were attacked by envious aristocratic factions on charges of sexual promiscuity, adultery, and even witchcraft.[14] The Carolingians' increased association of their wives and daughters with royal ceremony, liturgy, and monasticism was in part an attempt to shield them from this 'prefabricated' moral language of political attack against powerful royal women.[15]

Emma's career illustrates both the opportunities as well as the limitations for participation in royal ideology by ninth-century queens. Because Emma so seldom appears in contemporary sources, one must piece together her career from fragmentary references in the chronicles, diplomas, letters, and liturgical manuscripts. According to Regino of Prüm, Louis the German's queen 'was noble by lineage, but, what is especially praiseworthy, even more distinguished by her nobility of mind'.[16] Emma did come from a prominent family. Her father was Count Welf I, a member of the

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[12] Pauline Stafford, 'Sons and Mothers: Family Politics in the Early Middle Ages', in *Medieval Women*, ed. by Derek Baker (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), pp. 79–100 (pp. 90–96).

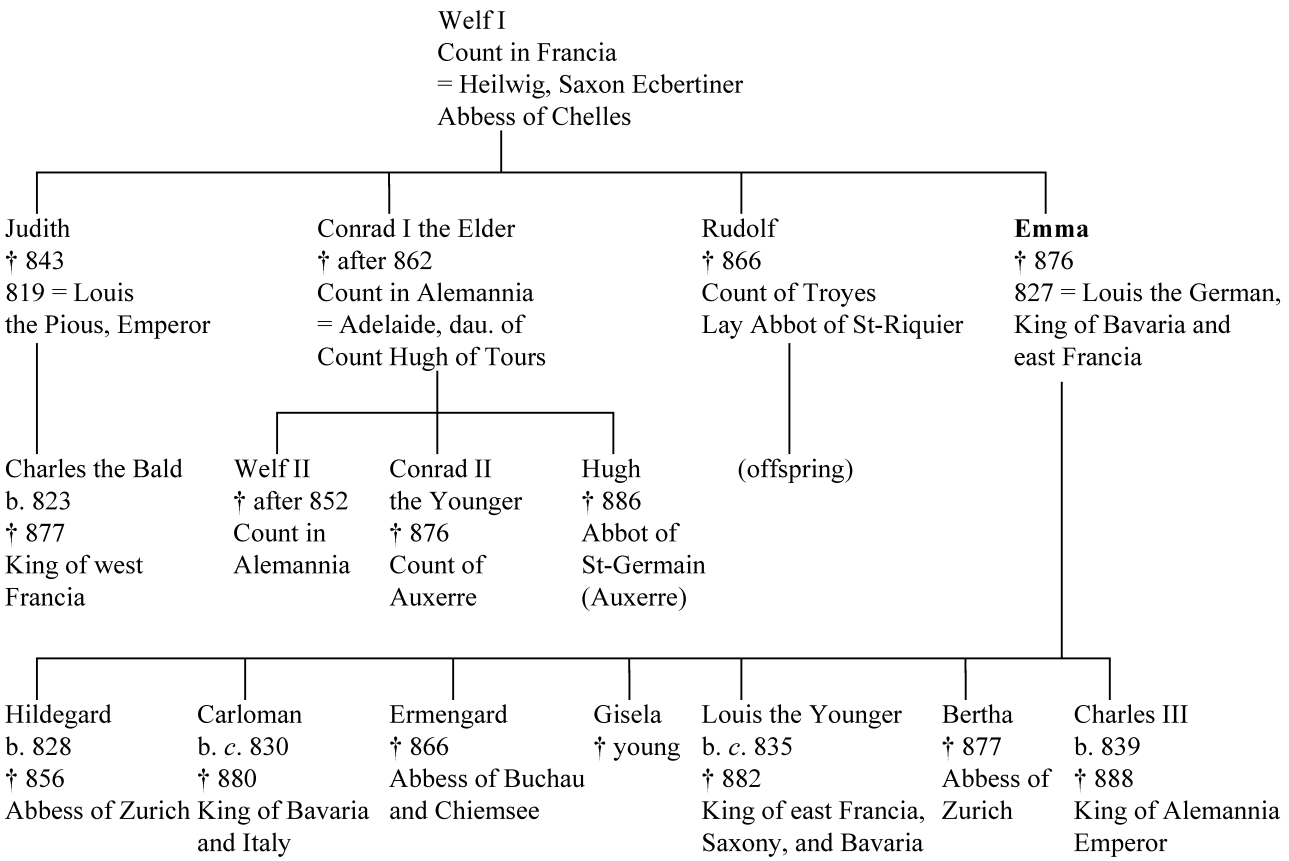
[13] Elizabeth Ward, 'Agobard of Lyons and Paschasius Radbertus as Critics of the Empress Judith', in *Women in the Church*, ed. by W. J. Sheils and Diana Woods (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), pp. 15–25.

[14] Ninth-century scandals concerning Carolingian women included Charlemagne's unwed daughters; the 830 rebellion against Louis the Pious and Judith; Lothar II's infamous divorce of his wife, Theutberga, during the late 850s and 860s; the accusations of adultery against Charles III's wife, Richgard, in 887; and the charges against Arnulf's wife, Uota, in 889. See Janet L. Nelson, 'Women at the Court of Charlemagne: A Case of Monstrous Regiment?', in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. by John Carmi Parsons (New York: St Martin's Press, 1993), pp. 43–61; Ward, 'Agobard', pp. 15–25; Stuart Airlie, 'Private Bodies and the Body Politic in the Divorce Case of Lothar II', *Past and Present*, 161 (1998), 3–38; Simon MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 169–78; Timothy Reuter, 'Der Uota-Prozeß', in *Kaiser Arnolf: Das ostfränkischen Reich am Ende des 9. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Franz Fuchs and Peer Schmid (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2002), pp. 253–70. For an insightful analysis of this ninth-century phenominon, see Geneviève Bührer-Thierry, 'La reine adultère', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 35 (1992), 299–312.

[15] MacLean, 'Queenship', p. 35.

[16] Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, s.a. 876, ed. by F. Kurze, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 50 (Hannover: Hahn, 1890; repr. 1978), pp. 110–11.

The Relatives of Queen Emma (simplified)



Frankish 'Welfs' from Bavaria and Alemannia, while her mother, Heilwig, was a noblewoman from a powerful Franco-Saxon dynasty known as the 'Ecbertiner'.[17] The Welfs rose to prominence as the result of Louis the Pious's second marriage to Emma's (presumably older) sister Judith in 819. As a result, Judith and Emma's brothers, Rudolf and Conrad I, became important royal advisors.[18] In 827, Louis the German, then King of Bavaria, married Emma, a union for which Judith presumably acted as matchmaker. Through this marriage, Louis the German became his father's brother-in-law, a highly unusual familial arrangement that reflected the influence of Judith and her relatives at court. It is possible that some contemporaries looked askance at this peculiar union, since the contemporary *Royal Frankish Annals* and two biographies of Louis the Pious all passed over Louis the German's marriage to his stepmother's sister in silence. It is only from the *Annals of Xanten* that we learn the date of Louis's marriage and the fact that Emma was Judith's sister. Under the year 827 they tersely reported that 'King Louis took as his wife the sister of Empress Judith'.[19] Immediate political and military concerns may have played a role in Louis the German's marriage. In 827, the Bulgars invaded the Bavarian frontier province of Lower Pannonia and wrested control of that region from the Franks.[20] Louis the Pious placed his namesake in command of the counter-offensive to drive out the Bulgars, and the young Louis the German therefore may have needed the marriage to Emma to solidify the support of his Bavarian troops. The Bavarians did take notice. In March

[17] On the Welfs and Empress Judith, see Josef Fleckenstein, 'Über die Herkunft der Welfen und ihre Anfänge in Süddeutschland', in *Studien und Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte des grossfränkischen und frühdeutschen Adels*, ed. by Gerd Tellenbach, Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte, 6 (Freiburg: E. Albert, 1957), pp. 71–136; Konecny, 'Frauen', pp. 89–102, 137; Ward, 'Caesar's Wife', pp. 205–27; Michael Borgolte, *Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit: Eine Prosopographie* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1986), pp. 288–89; Bernd Schneidmüller, *Die Welfen: Herrschaft und Erinnerung (819–1252)* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2000), esp. pp. 46–50; Philippe Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781–840)* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1997), no. 181. Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 100, 177–79, rightly cautions against seeing the Welfs as a coherent 'clan' or 'party' with its various members sharing united policies or agendas. The Welfs were a Frankish noble family, and, as in all aristocratic dynasties, individual members often acted independently in their quest for power, political office, and *Königsnähe*.

[18] Depreux, *Prosopographie*, nos 67, 224; Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 177–79, 312 (Genealogy IV). Conrad married Adelaide, the daughter of Count Hugh of Tours and sister-in-law of Louis the Pious's eldest son, Lothar I.

[19] The *Annales Xantenses*, s.a. 827, ed. by B. von Simson, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 12 (Hannover: Hahn, 1909), p. 7: 'Ludewicus rex accepit in coniugium sororem Iudith imperatricis.'

[20] *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 827, ed. by F. Kurze, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1895), p. 173; *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 827–29, ed. by F. Kurze, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 7 (Hannover: Hahn, 1891), pp. 24–26. See further Herwig Wolfram, *Grenzen und Räume: Geschichte Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung* (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 1995), pp. 246–47.

828, scribes at Freising began dating their charters 'in the fifteenth year of Emperor Louis and in the same year that his son King Louis came to Bavaria with his wife'.[21]

Emma played a significant role shaping Louis the German's kingship. Notker of St-Gall and Regino of Prüm both called attention to Emma's single most important contribution to her husband's regime: her fertility and propensity for producing male heirs.[22] During the first half of his reign, Louis the German faced intense fraternal competition from his eldest brother, Lothar I (817/40–55), whom Louis the Pious had named emperor and heir to the bulk of the empire in the *Ordinatio imperii* of 817. Louis the German's opposition to the *Ordinatio imperii* and quest for a larger kingdom made it absolutely vital that Emma give him sons to establish his own independent branch of the royal dynasty. Indeed, Louis probably would have tried to repudiate Emma had she proved infertile. It therefore may be significant that, although Louis married Emma in 827, according the Freising charters he did not return to his Bavarian kingdom with his wife until early 828.[23] It is possible that he did not take his new bride 'home' to Bavaria until he made sure she could get pregnant, which she did that year. Emma bore Louis at least seven children, six of whom survived to adulthood: Hildegard (b. 828), Carloman (b. *c*. 830), Louis the Younger (b. *c*. 835), Charles III (b. 839), and Ermengard and Bertha (birth dates unknown).[24] Emma also contributed to Louis the German's kingship through her family connections, which helped her husband expand his kingdom during the civil war against Lothar I following Louis the Pious's death. Emma's Welf ties underpinned her husband's claims to Bavaria and Alemannia, especially the latter region where Louis the Pious had promoted her brother Conrad I to a series of counties in 839.[25] During the civil war, Emma's maternal relations to the Ecbertiner of Saxony also helped her husband forge a crucial alliance with her powerful relatives Abbot Warin of Corvey and his brother, Count Cobbo.[26] To a significant extent, the east Frankish kingdom Louis

[21] *TF*, nos 554–57, 559–60, 571–75, 579, 581a.

[22] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 876, ed. by Kurze, pp. 110–11; Notker, *Erchanberti Breviarium regum Francorum, continuatio*, ed. by G. H. Pertz, MGH SS, 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1829), p. 329.

[23] The Freising charters date Louis's return to Bavaria *cum coniuge* as falling between January 11 and March 29, 828: *TF*, nos 554–57, 559–60, 571–75, 579, 581a. See further: Hartmann, *Ludwig der Deutsche*, p. 64 and n. 186; Bigott, *Ludwig der Deutsche*, p. 55.

[24] Louis and Emma also had another daughter, Gisela, who apparently died in infancy: Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, II, 426 n. 1; Karl Ferdinand Werner, 'Die Nachkommen Karls des Grossen bis um das Jahr 1000', in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, vol. IV, ed. by Wolfgang Braunfels and Percy Ernst Schramm (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1968), pp. 403–79.

[25] Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 165–70; Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 67.

[26] Eric J. Goldberg, 'Popular Revolt, Dynastic Politics, and Aristocratic Factionalism in the Early Middle Ages: The Saxon *Stellinga* Reconsidered', *Speculum*, 70 (1995), 488–92. Concerning the Ecbertiner, see further Sabine Krüger, *Studien zur Sächsischen Grafschaftsverfassung im 9. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1950), pp. 71–79.

received at the Treaty of Verdun in 843 reflected his wife's far-flung aristocratic connections beyond the Rhine.

In spite of his wife's contributions to his kingship, Louis the German limited her power and authority during the first three and a half decades of their marriage. The *Annals of Xanten* did not report that Emma was crowned in 827, which may indicate Louis the German's decision to circumscribe his wife's participation in royal ceremony and ideology. Supporting this conclusion is the fact that the *Annals of Xanten* and the Freising charters referred to Emma as Louis's wife (*coniunx*), rather than bestowing upon her the more exalted royal title of queen (*regina*). Louis the German seems to have denied Emma the royal title in general, since he consistently called her 'our beloved wife (*coniunx*)' and never *regina* in his royal diplomas.[27] The term *coniunx* highlighted Emma's subordination to her husband, since it literally meant a 'woman joined to a man in marriage'. In a letter to Louis the German's long-time archchaplain, Grimald of St-Gall (served 833–70), Ermanrich of Ellwangen highlighted Emma's subjection to her husband's patriarchal authority by appropriating the biblical image of Eve's generation from Adam (Genesis 2. 21–22). Ermanrich did not refer to Emma as queen or even mention her by name, and he instead merely alluded to her as Louis's 'rib'.[28] The absence of references to Emma as queen before the 860s provides a striking contrast to contemporary west Frankish, Lotharingian, and Italian royal wives, who were often referred to as queen or empress by churchmen, writers, and their husbands.[29]

Emma's low ritual profile apparently reflected Louis the German's desire to limit her power and influence at court. No chronicler mentioned Emma by name or even alluded to her between her marriage to Louis in 827 and the early 860s. Because chroniclers tended to mention the most prominent figures around the king, Emma's invisibility in their historical works suggests her limited influence at Louis the German's court. Another indication of Emma's limited political influence is her infrequent appearance in Louis's diplomas as an intercessor. Carolingian wives often appeared in the diplomas of their husbands as intercessors on the behalf of nobles and ecclesiastical foundations, thereby giving a rough sense of their ability to act as a patroness for prominent figures within the kingdom. But during their forty-nine years of marriage, Emma intervened in Louis's 171 surviving diplomas only three times (an unusually low number for a Carolingian queen), all during the last thirteen

[27] *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen, Karlmanns und Ludwigs des Jüngeren*, ed. by Paul Kehr, MGH Diplomata Karol./D., 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1932–34; repr. Munich, 1991), nos 110, 128, 141, 161.

[28] Ermanrich, *Epistola ad Grimaldum abbatem*, in *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, vol. III, ed. by Ernst Dümmler and others, MGH Ep., 5 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), p. 539. This letter dates to the early 850s.

[29] Nelson, 'Early Medieval Rites of Queen-Making', pp. 304–05 and n. 17.

years of her life (in 863, 868, and 871).[30] In contrast, Charles the Bald's two wives, Ermentrude and Richildis, whose combined reigns spanned the years 842–77, appeared as intercessor and/or grantor fourteen times in their husband's diplomas.[31]

Taken together, this evidence suggests that Louis the German consciously limited his wife's political influence and role in royal ritual during their first thirty-five years of marriage. The most likely explanation for this decision was Louis's life-long determination to concentrate royal power in his own hands. As one contemporary chronicler summed up, Louis the German 'kept a firm grip on supreme royal power over his sons', and this policy apparently extended to his wife as well.[32] Louis the German's inspiration undoubtedly arose from the repeated rebellions against his father during the 830s, in which he himself participated. In 830–31 and then again in 833–34, Louis the Pious was temporarily overthrown by rebellious aristocratic factions and his power-hungry sons, thereby precipitating one of the great constitutional crises of the Carolingian monarchy.[33] In these rebellions, the powerful Empress Judith and her brothers became the focus of the rebels' disenchantment with Louis the Pious's regime. In the rebellion of 830, Judith was accused of adultery with the imperial chamberlain, Bernard, and of deluding her husband with witchcraft, thereby justifying her and Bernard's overthrow. Although Judith was later cleared of these malicious charges, she remained a hated figure in some aristocratic circles until her death in 843 and beyond. Louis the German clearly learned his lesson from these rebellions, and he jealously guarded his royal power. As a result, it seems that he limited Emma's influence and authority to defend her, and himself, from attacks like those that had hounded her sister. Indeed, Louis may have feared that Emma, as Judith's sister, was particularly vulnerable to charges of adultery and that he therefore needed to shield her from the political spotlight.

But in two other arenas Louis the German did give prominence to Emma: in monasticism and prayer. Following an increasingly popular fashion in the ninth century, Louis associated his wife and daughters with convents and the monastic life. This was something of a family tradition for Emma, since Louis the Pious had appointed her mother, Heilwig, abbess of the important convent of Chelles near Paris in 825. Chelles was the cult centre for the seventh-century Frankish queen and saint Balthild, and in 833 Heilwig translated St Balthild's relics to a new church in the

[30] *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, nos 110, 128, 141; Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers*, p. 179.

[31] Hyam, 'Ermentrude and Richildis', p. 168. Emperor Louis II of Italy likewise made numerous grants to his powerful wife, Engelberga: MacLean, 'Queenship', pp. 26–27 and n. 88.

[32] Ado of Vienne, *Chronicon, continuatio*, ed. by Pertz, MGH SS, 2, pp. 324–25.

[33] For these events, see Ward, 'Agobard', pp. 15–25; Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 87–92; Egon Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996), pp. 182–212.

presence of Louis the Pious and Judith.[34] Like her mother, Emma had close associations with monasteries and monasticism. Presumably because of her mother's kinship with the Ecbertiner, Louis the German granted Emma lands that belonged to the Ecbertiner monastery of Corvey, thereby establishing spiritual as well as economic ties between his wife and that important Saxon monastery.[35] Moreover, according to two forged eleventh-century diplomas that seem to contain reliable information, Louis the German acquired the convent of Obermünster in Regensburg and gave it to Emma, thereby making her the convent's lay proprietor (*rectrix*).[36] Although the dating clauses of these forged diplomas are corrupt, one states that the transaction took place in 831.[37] If that is correct, then Louis may have given the Regensburg convent to his wife in response to the recent charges of marital infidelity, witchcraft, and treason against Emma's sister. Since Obermünster was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, Louis may have hoped that his wife's position as its *rectrix* would shield her from guilt by association in her sister's crimes. Louis frequently resided in Regensburg, and Emma therefore would have had ample opportunity to associate with the Obermünster nuns under her supervision.

Louis the German and Emma similarly dedicated their three daughters, Hildegard, Ermengard, and Bertha, to the monastic life.[38] All their daughters became nuns, and during the 850s Louis granted them a monastic 'empire' of convents, apparently to rule as abbesses: Schwarzach in Franconia; Chiemsee in Bavaria; and Sts-Felix-and-Regula (Zurich), Säckingen, and Buchau in Alemannia.[39] By devoting their daughters to the

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[34] *Ex translatione s. Baltechildis*, ed. by O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS, 15.1 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1887), pp. 284–85; Ward, 'Caesar's Wife', pp. 214–15.

[35] Louis the Pious likewise had granted lands belonging to Corvey to Judith: Karl Heinrich Krüger, *Studien zur Corveyer Gründungsüberlierferung* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2001), pp. 242–44.

[36] *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, no. 174; *Die Urkunden Karls III.*, ed. by Paul Kehr, MGH Diplomata Karol./D., 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1936–37), no. 157. Bigott, *Ludwig der Deutsche*, pp. 28–29, 273, 290, argues for the authenticity of the information about Emma and Obermünster and calls Emma Obermünster's abbess. However, Roman Deutinger, 'Königsherrschaft im Ostfränkischen Reich: Eine pragmatische Verfassungsgeschichte der späten Karolingerzeit', part 1 (Habilitationsschrift, University of Munich, June 2004), pp. 124–25 and n. 87, stresses that Emma's position seems to have been that of a lay abbess who derived income from her convent.

[37] See Kehr's introduction to *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, no. 174.

[38] Schieffer, 'Karolingische Töchter', pp. 129–30; Hartmann, *Ludwig der Deutsche*, pp. 77–79; MacLean, 'Queenship', pp. 3–38.

[39] Louis named Hildegard and, following her death in 856, Bertha abbesses of Münsterschwarzach near Würzburg, Sts-Felix-and-Regula in Zurich, and Säckingen on the upper Rhine. Louis also made his third daughter, Ermengard, Abbess of Buchau in eastern Alemannia and Frauenwörth on the Bavarian Chiemsee: *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, nos 67, 79, 81, 82, 91, 110; *Urkunden Karls III.*, ed. by Kehr, no. 7; Bigott, *Ludwig der*

monastic life, Louis and Emma made them ineligible for marriage and thus placed them beyond the reach of magnates seeking royal brides. This in part was a calculated political decision. The Carolingians jealously guarded the 'aristocratic appropriation of legitimate Carolingian blood', since sons born to their daughters might become royal claimants who rivaled the king's direct male descendents.[40] Devoting daughters to the monastic life therefore enabled a ruler like Louis to keep his royal tree well pruned and ambitious magnates at arm's length. At the same time, as monastic figures the king's daughters could act as local representatives of the crown and mediators between the court and regional nobility. For example, Louis the German's nephew, King Lothar II of Lotharingia (855–69), made a grant to Bertha 'so that she might be the tireless spokeswoman for strengthening our friendship with our dearest uncle, her father, and with her beloved mother'.[41] The east Frankish court emphasized that these royal daughters were holy women. The surviving 'court handbook' of Archchaplain Grimald (the so-called *Grimalt-Codex*) contained multiple obituaries for the King and Queen's eldest daughter, Hildegard, who died in 856.[42] These obituaries highlighted Hildegard's virginity, piety, building projects, and royal blood, perhaps in the hope of transforming her into a royal saint. The *Grimalt-Codex* recorded Hildegard's epitaph over her sarcophagus in Zurich, the wording of which Louis and Emma may have helped formulate. It read:

> In this tomb lies the most worthy virgin of Christ,
> Hildegard, shining in her excellent morals.
> She was the daughter of the distinguished King Louis.
> Of her own free will she dedicated her mind to God.
> The blessed virgin completed twice eighteen years of her life
> And then departed for her Bridegroom.
> She died on December 23.

Louis the German further sacralized Emma's position as his wife through prayer. In numerous royal diplomas, Louis requested that monasteries pray for his soul and

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Deutsche, pp. 29, 36. Deutinger, *Königsherrschaft im Ostfränkischen Reich*, part 1, pp. 122–23, cautions that the references to Louis's daughters as abbesses all date to after their deaths. However, the fact that they all seem to have been nuns suggests that they exercised an abbess-like position in the convents Louis the German granted to them.

[40] Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, p. 148.

[41] *Die Urkunden Lothars II.*, ed. by Theodor Schieffer, MGH Diplomata Karol., 3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1966), no. 34.

[42] *Grimalt-Codex*, St Gall 397, pp. 28, 33, 66; Hansjörg Wellmer, *Persönliches Memento im deutschen Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1973), pp. 30–31. The *Grimalt-Codex*, p. 21, also contained an obituary for Abbess Ermengard of Buchau and Frauenchiemsee, the 'king's daughter and nun', who died on 16 July 866. She later became a local saint at Frauenwörth. Bertha, the Abbess of Zurich, Schwarzach, and Säckingen, died in 877 and therefore is not mentioned in the *Grimalt-Codex*.

the souls of his wife and children.[43] Similarly, at the important 847 Synod of Mainz, Archbishop Raban (d. 856) informed Louis that the east Frankish Church would sing a total of 3500 masses and 1700 psalters 'for you, your *coniunx*, and your most noble offspring'.[44] Ermenrich marveled at how many prayers and vigils Archchaplain Grimald said 'for our unconquered king, our head after God, the most distinguished rib of his side, and for all their children'.[45] Prayers were also offered for Emma through the chanting of royal acclamations (*laudes regiae*) during important ceremonial occasions at court. The first pages of the *Grimalt-Codex* contain acclamations for Louis the German, his wife, and their children.[46] These acclamations, which date *c*. 850, provide the first surviving reference to Emma as queen, although admittedly they were merely adhering to the traditional formulaic language of earlier Carolingian *laudes*. They besought Christ and six female saints (Felicity, Perpetua, Petronella, Lucy, Agnes, and Cecilia) to grant long life to *Hemma regina nostra*. It is significant that all these prayers for Emma situated her in the midst of the royal family between her husband and their children, thereby highlighting Emma's maternal role within the royal dynasty. They suggest that Emma's status did not arise from any independent queenly office, but rather from her position as Louis's wife and the mother of his 'most noble offspring'.

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[43] Eugen Ewig, 'Der Gebetsdienst der Kirchen in den Urkunden der späten Karolinger', in *Festschrift für Berent Schwineköper zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. by Helmut Maurer and Hans Patze (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1982), pp. 45–86 (pp. 70–72 and n. 255). For entries in confraternity books recording the names of Emma and her Welf relatives, see Borgolte, *Grafen*, p. 169.

[44] *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 843–859*, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann, MGH Concilia, 3 (Hannover: Hahn, 1984), p. 160, no. 14. On the political significance of the 847 Mainz synod, see Bigott, *Ludwig der Deutsche*, pp. 104–11; Bigott, 'Die Versöhnung von 847: Ludwig der Deutsche und die Reichskirche', in *Ludwig der Deutsche und seine Zeit*, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004), pp. 121–40.

[45] Ermenrich, *Epistola ad Grimaldum abbatem*, p. 539.

[46] *Grimalt-Codex*, St-Gall 397, pp. 1–3. Edition and commentary in Reinhard Elze, 'Die Herrscherlaudes im Mittelalter', *ZSRG (KA)*, 71 (1954), 201–23 (pp. 218–21). On the *Grimalt-Codex* and Grimald, see Josef Fleckenstein, 'Grimald, Abt von St. Gallen, Erzkapellan Ludwigs des Deutschen', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. VII (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1966), p. 75; Bernhard Bischoff, 'Bücher am Hofe Ludwigs des Deutschen und die Privatbibliothek des Kanzlers Grimalt', in Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. III (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1981), pp. 187–212, esp. 201–09; Dieter Geuenich, 'Beobachtungen zu Grimald von St. Gallen, Erzkapellan und Oberkanzler Ludwigs des Deutschen', in *Festschrift für J. Autenrieth* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1988), pp. 55–68; Bigott, *Ludwig der Deutsche*, pp. 162–67 and passim. The classic study of royal acclamations is Ernst Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship; with a Study of the Music of the laudes and Musical Transcriptions, by Manfred F. Bukofzer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946).

Emma, Witgar, and the Witgar-Belt

The dearth of information concerning Emma before the 860s heightens the importance of the Witgar-Belt as evidence for her career. The Witgar-Belt demonstrates Emma's fulfilment of the queen's traditional duties as mistress of the royal household. Queens had the important responsibility for supervising the domestic servants in the palace to ensure the smooth day-to-day running of their husbands' court. In his *On the Governance of the Palace*, Hincmar of Reims identified two additional domestic duties of the king's wife: distributing annual gifts (*annua dona*) to the king's soldiers and supervising the king's regalia and treasure (*ornamentum regale*).[47] The Witgar-Belt shows Emma carrying out both those duties. As the inscription on the Witgar-Belt emphasized, Emma herself gave (*tribuit*) it to Witgar as a gift. Gift-giving was a central aspect of medieval politics. Gifts forged social ties and solidified alliances between the king and nobility, and they also functioned as a visual barometer of a king's wealth — and thus his political power. Gifts, and especially gifts of clothing, also helped articulate the political hierarchy around the king. As historians have emphasized, in medieval Europe items of clothing were not simply passive, practical objects, but rather active material forces that helped construct social identities and articulate political relations.[48] In the Carolingian world, belts were especially prized markers of noble status. A young nobleman received a sword belt when he came of age at fifteen, thereby symbolizing his status as a layman and soldier.[49] The ninth-century Frankish Church decreed that laymen guilty of serious

[47] Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, c. 5, ed. Thomas Gross and Rudolf Schieffer, MGH FRG sep. ed., 3 (Hannover: Hahn, 1980), pp. 72–74. For the queen's role as mistress of the royal household, see Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers*, pp. 93–114; Janet L. Nelson, 'Kingship and Royal Government', in *NCMH*, II, 400–01.

[48] For the social and cultural significance of clothing in the Middle Ages, see Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. by Thomas Dunlap (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 2000), pp. 128–55; *Le Vêtement: Histoire, archéologie et symbolique vestimentaires au Moyen Age*, ed. by Michel Pastoureau (Paris: Cahiers du Léopard d'Or, 1989); *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. by Stewart Gordon (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress: Objects, Texts, Images*, ed. by Janet Snyder and Désirée Koslin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Cloth Work, and Other Cultural Imaginings*, ed. by E. Jane Burns (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

[49] Concerning sword belts in Frankish Europe, see Janet L. Nelson, 'Ninth-Century Knighthood: The Evidence of Nithard', reprinted in Janet L. Nelson, *The Frankish World, 750–900* (London: Hambledon, 1996), pp. 75–87 (pp. 84–85); Nelson, 'Monks, Secular Men and Masculinity, *c*. 900', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. by D. M. Hadley (London: Longman, 1999), pp. 121–42 (pp. 131–32, 134); Régine Le Jan, 'Frankish Giving of Arms and Rituals of Power: Continuity and Change in the Carolingian Period', in *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Frans Theuws and Janet L. Nelson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 281–309.

crimes were to be stripped of their sword belts and wives, thereby symbolically unmanning them.[50] Churchmen likewise prized secular belts in spite of their clerical rank. Louis the Pious urged bishops and clerics to give up their 'girdles weighed down with golden belts and jeweled daggers' along with fine clothes, boots with spurs, and other 'ornaments of secular glory'.[51] Although churchmen in theory were not to carry sword belts, they wore liturgical belts, like the one Emma gave Witgar, as part of their priestly attire. Because belts were so highly prized, they figured prominently among the gifts distributed by queens to nobles at court. When Einhard visited the palace in 828, for example, Judith gave him her own belt made of gold and jewels that weighed three pounds.[52] When describing the *annua dona* distributed at court, Notker reported that prominent noblemen (*nobiliores*) received belts and other luxurious vestments, while the lesser nobles and domestic servants got dyed Frisian cloth, linen clothing, lengths of wool, and knives.[53] The Witgar-Belt therefore is a rare material artefact of a common practice among Carolingian queens: the distribution of belts and other items of precious clothing to prominent nobles in the king's retinue.

The Witgar-Belt likewise suggests Emma's supervision of Louis the German's regalia and treasure. The Witgar-Belt was constructed of extremely valuable materials: red silk, golden thread, and pearls. The most valuable component of the Witgar-Belt was the relic it held inside its long sheath. A 1582 inventory of the Augsburg episcopal treasury records that the Witgar-Belt originally contained a 'rather long piece of the belt of Our Beloved Lady'.[54] (Someone subsequently disassembled the Witgar-Belt and removed the relic, however, and then sewed the two halves of the belt together backward, as it remains today.) In this way, the Witgar-Belt was not merely a luxurious piece of clothing, but a unique reliquary to be worn. Emma apparently

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[50] Karl Leyser, 'Early Medieval Canon Law and the Beginnings of Knighthood', reprinted in Karl Leyser, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe*, vol. I: *The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (London: Hambledon, 1994), pp. 51–71.

[51] Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 28, ed. by Ernst Tremp, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 64 (Hannover: Hahn, 1995), p. 378.

[52] Einhard, *Translatio et miracula sanctorum Marcellini et Petri*, 2.6, ed. by Waitz, MGH SS, 15.1, p. 247.

[53] Notker, *Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris*, 2.21, ed. by Hans F. Haefele, MGH SSrG NS, 12 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1959), p. 92.

[54] Johannes Elsner's 1582 inventory of the Augsburg treasury (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 2913, fols 3^{v}–4^{r}) lists: 'Mer ein schöne Pildnus unnser Lieben Frauen, sitzend auf ainem Sessel gantz silbere und vergültt, tregtt auff dem haubt ain vergulte Cron, welliche vornen mit ainem Rubin versezt, darinnen ein zimblich lannges stuckh von der gürtl gemelter Unnser Lieben Frauen, darauf nachvolgende Lateinische Wortt mit grossen Puechstaben nach Lennges geschriben: *Hanc zonam Regina nitens sanctissima Hemma Witgario tribuit sacro spiramine plenum.*' I would like to thank Franz Fuchs for kindly making his transcription of this document available to me.

had access to such precious materials — silk, gold, pearls, and relics — through her position as supervisor of her husband's treasury. Scattered sources mention a wide-range of valuable objects at Louis the German's court, including gold, silver, gems, relics, sceptres, liturgical objects, tapestries, exotic spices, parrots, whale bone, luxurious clothing, and numerous books (at least one of which was thickly bound with gold).[55] The responsibility for supervising the regalia gave the king's wife tremendous influence over matters of royal symbolism and court ceremony. In the words of Pauline Stafford, 'In a society that relied on outward marks of distinction, the queen's provision for the royal appearance provided the charisma of royalty itself.'[56]

The Witgar-Belt calls attention to a third domestic activity of royal wives that Hincmar failed to mention in his *On the Governance of the Palace*: weaving and embroidery.[57] Weaving was the aristocratic woman's pastime par excellence, and it was an integral part of the queen's duties as mistress of the royal household. According to Einhard, while Charlemagne's sons were off learning to ride, hunt, and fight, royal daughters were taught to spin and weave 'so that they might not grow dull from inactivity and might learn to value work and virtuous activity'.[58] Royal wives and daughters often gave hand-made items of clothing to the king, nobles, and foreign dignitaries, thereby uniting together their activities as seamstress, gift giver, and custodian of the regalia. In a poem for Charlemagne's daughter Gisela, Theodulf of Orléans explicitly associated her supervision of the household (*cura domestica*) and giving of gifts (*larga manus*) with her skill at weaving (*lanae studium*).[59] The queen-as-seamstress was a biblical ideal. The book of Proverbs described the Good Wife as a woman who managed her husband's home, eagerly worked the loom, and made fine clothing for her spouse and servants.[60]

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[55] For treasures at Louis's court, see for example *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 869, 872, ed. by Kurze, pp. 69 (treasuries containing gold and silver), 75 (a crystal containing a relic of the True Cross decorated with gold and gems); *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 849, 873, ed. by Félix Grat, Jeanne Vielliard, and Suzanne Clémencet (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1964), pp. 57 (sceptre), 191 (princely clothing, sword belts, and relics of martyrs); *Collectio Sangallensis* no. 29, in *Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. by Karl Zeumer, MGH FMK (Hannover: Hahn, 1886), p. 415 (vestments, foreign spices and fruits, an ivory comb, parrots, and whale bone); Notker, *Gesta Karoli* 1.34, 2.11, ed. by Haefele, pp. 46–47 (Frankish attire and sceptre), 69 (book bound in gold). See further the catalogue of the treasures of the Frankfurt royal chapel: *Lorsch-Rotulus*, Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS Barth. 179^{v}.

[56] Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers*, p. 107.

[57] On Carolingian queens and embroidery, see Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, III, 672: Hyam, 'Ermentrude and Richildis', pp. 161–62.

[58] Einhard, *Vita Karoli magni*, c. 19, ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 25 (Hannover: Hahn, 1911; repr. 1965), p. 23.

[59] Theodulf, *Ad Giselam*, in *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, vol. I, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, MGH PLM, 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), p. 541.

[60] Proverbs 31. 10–31.

By making luxurious items of clothing, royal wives and daughters had a rare opportunity to make a direct contribution to the king's regalia and the splendour of his court. During religious festivals and assemblies, Charlemagne and Louis the Pious donned clothes and sword belts decorated with gold and jewels.[61] Louis the German and his sons likewise wore luxurious Frankish attire, sword belts, and golden spurs.[62] Queens made some of these items of regal clothing by hand. Empress Judith embroidered (*ornavit*) a robe for Louis the Pious 'so that dressed in it he might glitter and shine before his subjects'.[63] John Scottus Eriugena compared Charles the Bald's wife, Ermentrude, to Pallas Athena (the patron goddess of spinning and weaving), and he praised the regal vestments she made for her husband:

> Her remarkable talent in the art of Pallas
> Adorns silk threads with finely woven gold.
> Her husband's robes sparkle with wondrous movements,
> Rows of gems cover his clothing.
> The spider marvels at her and scurries away,
> Even though he too has Athenian fingers.[64]

Like kings, queens wore luxurious regal attire, some of which they undoubtedly made for themselves.[65] Royal women also gave away works of embroidery to prominent magnates and foreign rulers. Judith made with her own hand (*conficit*) a 'tunic stiff with gold and gems' that she gave to the Danish queen on the occasion of her baptism at Mainz in 826.[66] Charles the Bald's queen, Ermentrude, made an episcopal stole for Bishop Pardulf of Laon on the occasion of his ordination, and she also decorated a robe that her husband sent to Pope Nicholas.[67] The written sources make

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[61] Einhard, *Vita Karoli magni*, c. 23, ed. by Waitz, pp. 27–28; Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 19, ed. by Ernst Tremp, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 64 (Hannover: Hahn, 1995), pp. 202–05.

[62] *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 873, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, p. 191; Notker, *Gesta Karoli* 1.34, ed. by Haefele, pp. 46–47. For Louis the German's royal representation, see Eric J. Goldberg, '"More Devoted to the Equipment of Battle than the Splendor of Banquets": Frontier Kingship, Military Ritual, and Early Knighthood at the Court of Louis the German', *Viator*, 30 (1999), 41–78.

[63] *Carmina Scottorum Latina et Graecanica*, no. 5, in *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, vol. III, ed. by Ludwig Traube, MGH PLM, 3.2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1896), pp. 687–88.

[64] John Scottus Eriugena, *Carmina* 2.4, ed. by Traube, MGH PLM, 3.2, p. 533.

[65] Ermold le Noir, *Poèm sur Louis le Pieux et Épîtres au Roi Pépin*, book 4, ed. and trans. by Edmond Faral (Paris: H. Champion, 1932), pp. 166–76.

[66] Ibid., pp. 172–74.

[67] Lupus of Ferrières, *Epistolae* 89, in *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, vol. IV, ed. by Ernst Dümmler and others, MGH Ep., 6 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925; repr. Munich, 1978), p. 80; *Carmina Scottorum Latina et Graecanica*, no, 5, ed. by Traube, pp. 687–88. Gerberga, the wife of King Louis IV, embroidered a handkerchief for her brother, Otto the Great, to commemorate his victory over the rebel Ragenar in 958: Schramm and Mütherich, *Denkmale*, p. 42.

clear that textiles played a central role in transforming the empty stone halls of Carolingian palaces into magnificent stages of royal display. In addition to regal clothing, we hear of beautiful tapestries, curtains, tablecloths, bedspreads, pillows, and equestrian trappings among the Carolingian treasures.[68] Once again, royal women presumably made some of these objects by hand.

These numerous examples of queenly embroidery and gift giving make it likely that Emma made the Witgar-Belt herself. At the very least, she closely supervised its design, since the inscription indicates that the belt was made specifically for Emma to give to Witgar. Viewed in this light, one can appreciate the significance of this material artefact: it is one of the very few surviving pieces of queenly embroidery from the Carolingian period. Although this phenomenon was common, almost all embroidery by Carolingian women has disappeared since, unlike parchment, stone, and metal (media typically dominated by male clerics and artisans), early medieval textiles seldom have withstood the trials of wear-and-tear, moisture, and time.[69] In this way, the gendered nature of artistic materials and their different levels of durability have obscured the significant contributions queenly embroidery made to the representation of royal power in Carolingian Europe.

Embroidery not only gave Carolingian women an opportunity to contribute to the splendour of the king's court. It also provided a unique medium for queens to articulate their own royal persona. In a courtly environment in which writing, liturgy, architecture, and artistic production were dominated by men, embroidery offered one of the few visual media under the queen's direct control. Indeed, the Witgar-Belt is most interesting when viewed as Emma's personal statement about her royal authority. Especially noteworthy is Emma's self-styled royal title, *regina nitens sanctissima*, the 'shining and most holy queen'. Emma's use of the exalted royal title *regina* is striking, providing a sharp contrast to her husband's reluctance to designate her as queen. While Louis the German and his ecclesiastical advisors apparently wished to circumscribe Emma's authority by withholding from her the royal title, Emma clearly had no hesitation using it herself. Through the Witgar-Belt, Emma thus asserted that she was not merely Louis the German's wife, but an exalted queen, just like other contemporary Carolingian queens.

Emma added another ideological dimension to the Witgar-Belt through the unusual adjectives she chose to describe herself, *nitens sanctissima*, 'shining and most holy'. Emma's reference to herself as *sanctissima* is particularly startling. Courtier-poets sometimes flattered Carolingian rulers and their relatives by giving them the epithet 'most holy'. Theodulf of Orléans, for example, described Charlemagne as

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[68] References to courtly textiles abound in Carolingian sources. See, for example, Einhard, *Vita Karoli magni*, c. 33, ed. by Waitz, pp. 39–40; Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 63, ed. by Tremp, p. 548; *Collectio Sangallensis*, no. 27, ed. by Zeumer, p. 412; BN, Lat. 7230, fol. 117^{v} (edited in Schramm and Mütherich, *Denkmale*, p. 95); *Waltharius*, lines 290–93, ed. by Dennis M. Kratz, *'Waltharius' and 'Ruodlieb'* (New York: Garland, 1984), p. 16.

[69] Schramm and Mütherich, *Denkmale*, p. 40.

sanctissimus David and his sister, Abbess Gisela of Chelles, as *soror sanctissima regis*.[70] Walahfrid Strabo similarly addressed Louis the German as *pater sanctissime*.[71] But while poets might apply this adulatory term to Carolingian men and women, it is surprising that Emma appropriated that epithet for herself, since such a claim might be seen as evidence of queenly vanity and thus inherently contradictory. Indeed, Emma's claim to be *sanctissima* so perplexed scholars that, up to the late nineteenth century, some incorrectly believed the dedication on the Witgar-Belt read *regina nitens pulcherrima Hemma* — the 'shining and most beautiful Queen Emma'.[72]

Emma further emphasized her female sanctity through the other word she used to describe herself, *nitens*, which means 'shining', 'radiant', or 'beautiful'. Physical beauty was a quality often ascribed to Carolingian wives, and the queen was expected to be the beauty of the king's household.[73] Emma may have been particularly defensive of her good looks, since her sister Judith was renowned for her stunning beauty.[74] But in the ninth century the word *nitens* also carried with it strong connotations of moral purity, chastity, and virginity when applied to women. For example, the epitaph in Zurich for Louis and Emma's daughter Hildegard described her as the 'most worthy virgin of Christ, shining in her excellent qualities' ('Christi dignissima virgo Hildegarda nitens moribus egregiis').[75] The leading east Frankish theologian, Raban of Mainz, used the verb *nitere* to describe the Virgin Mary, the quintessential patron saint of female sanctity and chastity. In Raban's eyes, Mary's virginity freed her from womankind's sinful nature and transformed her into a shining *virago*, a 'manly woman'.[76]

Emma heightened this implicit comparison between herself and the Virgin Mary by incorporating the relic of St Mary's belt into the Witgar-Belt. The cult of the Virgin Mary, which in the Carolingian and Byzantine context had strong connotations of royal and imperial power, seems to have been particularly prominent at the east Frankish court. Louis dedicated the new royal chapels he built at Frankfurt and

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[70] Theodulf, *Carmina*, 2, 25, ed. by Dümmler, pp. 458, 486.

[71] Walahfrid, *Carmina* 71, in *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, vol. II, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, MGH PLM, 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1884), p. 410.

[72] The misreading of *pulcherrima* first appeared in Marcus Velser's 1682 *Historia Norimbergae*, and that mistake was continued by Georg Waitz and Ernst Dümmler in the nineteenth century: MGH SS, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1891), p. 422, n. 93; Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, II, 424 and n. 2. Cf. *Tituli varii*, ed. by Karl Strecker, MGH PLM, 4.3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1896), p. 1054 and textual note XIV.

[73] Nelson, 'Early Medieval Rites of Queen-Making', p. 305.

[74] Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 26, ed. by Tremp, p. 214 and n. 154: *Erat enim pulchra valde*; Ermold le Noir, *Poème sur Louis le Pieux*, book 4, ed. and trans. by Faral, pp. 170–71 and n. 2.

[75] *Grimalt-codex*, St Gall 397, p. 33.

[76] Raban, *Carmina* 16, ed. by Dümmler, MGH PLM, 2, p. 181.

Regensburg to St Mary in imitation of Charlemagne's church at Aachen, and, during their lifetimes, Louis and Emma's eldest son, Carloman, built a monastery at Ötting 'in honour of the holy mother of God, the ever-virgin Mary'.[77] Emma's convent of Obermünster likewise was dedicated to the 'most blessed and ever-virgin Mary, the mother of our lord Jesus Christ'.[78] Raban recommended to Louis that the canticle of Mary be sung during the divine services at the east Frankish palace.[79] Thus, by describing herself as *regina nitens sanctissima* and incorporating a relic of St Mary into the Witgar-Belt, Emma made a bold assertion about her exalted royal authority, female sanctity, and Mary-like sexual purity.

Emma's emphasis on her sanctity and personal association with the Virgin Mary strongly suggests that she had taken a vow of chastity. The Carolingian Church reforms imposed a highly monastic style of Christian piety on the lay nobility, urging them to adopt the ascetic ideals of penance, prayer, the renunciation of violence, and sexual abstinence.[80] Within this context, it is difficult to believe that Emma could publicly claim to be *sanctissima* and associate herself so closely with the Virgin Mary without implying that she had renounced sexual relations with her husband. Here the Queen's unusual longevity becomes significant. Carolingian wives and daughters who survived infancy had a life expectancy of between *c*. 34 and *c*. 41 years.[81] Emma, however, lived until 876 and therefore had the rare luxury of becoming a *senex*, an old woman. Although the year of Emma's birth is unknown, one can approximate her age by the fact that she had most or all of her children between 828 and 839. In the Middle Ages, queens seldom bore children after their mid-thirties.[82] Even if one allows for the possibility that Emma had several more children after 839 (perhaps including Ermengard and Bertha, whose birth dates are unknown), Emma would have been born some time between *c*. 805 and *c*. 815.[83] As will be discussed below, Emma in all likelihood gave the belt to Witgar some time after early 858, when he first appeared as Louis's chancellor. Thus Emma would have been in her mid-forties or older, and therefore well beyond reproductive age, by the time she gave the gift to Witgar.

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[77] *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, nos 155, 161; *Urkunden Karlmanns*, ed. by Kehr, MGH Diplomata Karol./D., 1, no. 2.

[78] *Urkunden Karls III.*, ed. by Kehr, no. 157.

[79] *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, nos 155, 161; Raban, *Epistolae*, no. 33, ed. by Dümmler and others, MGH Ep., 5, p. 467.

[80] Stuart Airlie, 'The Anxiety of Sanctity: St. Gerald of Aurillac and his Maker', *JEH*, 43 (1992), 372–95; Nelson, 'Monks, Secular Men and Masculinity', pp. 121–42.

[81] Paul Edward Dutton, 'Beyond the Topos of Senescence: The Political Problems of Aged Carolingian Rulers', in *Aging and the Aged in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Michael M. Sheehan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), pp. 75–94 (pp. 81–83, 93–94).

[82] Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers*, pp. 90–91.

[83] Fleckenstein estimated that Emma was born 'um 808', while Hartmann suggested 'etwa 812': Fleckenstein, 'Hemma', col. 2128; Hartmann, *Ludwig der Deutsche*, p. 64 n. 186.

Emma's unusual longevity impacted on her sexuality. During Emma's lifetime, the Frankish Church made a concerted effort to reform the sexual mores of the Frankish nobility and curb practices it saw as sinful, such as keeping concubines, having children out of wedlock, and divorce. In 829, for example, the Synod of Paris decreed that sexual relations were acceptable only within the bounds of marriage and only to produce children, not for pleasure.[84] As a woman who had lived beyond reproductive age, therefore, Emma in theory should have renounced sexual relations with Louis the German (who in turn should not have had sex with anyone else). Of course, many aging married couples must have ignored the Church's decrees about sexual morality in the privacy of their own bedchambers. Nevertheless, Emma's public assertion to be *sanctissima* implies that she accepted this age-imposed sexual abstinence and took a vow of chastity after she could no longer conceive. Such a vow of abstinence would have complemented her position as *rectrix* of the convent of St Mary at Obermünster. Louis was a highly pious king deeply influenced by monasticism, and he too may have embraced abstinence later in life.[85] This is supported by the fact that, unlike most Carolingian kings, Louis is not known to have had any concubines or illegitimate children. The Witgar-Belt therefore suggests that Emma, and perhaps Louis as well, was living a life of sexual abstinence by the late 850s.

The Witgar-Belt not only functioned as a general assertion about Emma's sexual purity. It also made a specific statement about her chaste relationship with Witgar. In the Frankish world, belts were highly sexual objects. At age fifteen, a young nobleman received a sword belt to symbolize his entrance into adulthood and to decorate his loins from which he would continue his family. The sword itself was an obvious phallic symbol when hanging from a nobleman's waist. Under Raban of Mainz's leadership, east Frankish church councils repeatedly decreed that nobles guilty of serious crimes were to be stripped of their sword belts and wives, thereby symbolically castrating them.[86] At the 852 Synod of Mainz, for example, Louis and Raban jointly announced that a certain Albgis, who had abducted another man's wife and carried her off to Moravia, was to be exiled, abstain from aristocratic foods such as meat and wine for three years, and put aside his sword belt and wife for the remainder of his life. Yet priestly belts had the opposite meaning of secular belts. In his well-known treatise *On the Clergy*, Raban noted that the belt of a priest or monk held his tunic tightly in place and therefore signified his chastity and renunciation of

[84] MGH CRF, 2, ed. by Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause (Hannover: Hahn, 1890), pp. 45–46: 'non sit causa luxuriae, sed causa potius filiorum appetendum'; Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, trans. by Barbara Bray (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 30–31.

[85] Concerning Louis's piety, see Notker, *Gesta Karoli* 2.10–11, ed. by Haefele, pp. 66–70; Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 876, ed. by Kurze, p. 110. Hartmann, *Ludwig der Deutsche*, pp. 21–23, stresses Louis's piety. See further Hartmann, 'Ludwig der Deutsche – Portrait eines wenig bekannten Königs', in *Ludwig der Deutsche und seine Zeit*, ed. by Hartmann, pp. 22–24.

[86] *Konzilien 843–859*, ed. by Hartmann, pp. 171 (c. 20), 173 (c. 24), 248–49 (c. 11).

sexual relations (*continentia et castitas*).[87] Emma further emphasized this monastic interpretation of Witgar's belt by describing it with the Greek word *zona*, rather than using the more common Latin terms, *cingulum* or *baltheum*. In his theological magnum opus known as *De universo*, Raban dedicated an entire chapter to the subject of belts. In that chapter, Raban stressed the ascetic significance of the word *zona*:

> *Zona* is Greek, what they call a *zonarion*, but we call a *cingulum*. The *zona* symbolizes the mortification of the flesh. Thus it is read in the Gospels concerning John the Baptist: 'John had clothes of camel hair, and a *zona* of hide around his loins. His food consisted of locusts and wild honey.' (Matthew 3. 4) Here the cheapness of John's food and clothing is praised, while wearing rich attire is criticized. He had clothes of hair, it says, not of linen. One is a mark of austere clothing, the other of effeminate luxury. In this way the *zona* of hide with which he and Elias were girded is a symbol of mortification.[88]

During the 840s Raban sent a copy of his *De universo* to the east Frankish court to be studied by Louis the German and the 'keen readers' in his entourage, among whom Emma herself presumably numbered.[89] It therefore is likely that Emma knew the ascetic connotations of the word *zona* and that she specifically chose this Greek word for the belt's inscription to highlight the message of chastity between herself and Witgar. Emma drove home this message by incorporating the piece of the Virgin Mary's belt into the Witgar-Belt. No other relic could be so intimately associated with female chastity, since Mary's belt had adorned her virgin hips. Thus by giving this unusual 'double chastity belt' to Witgar, Emma made a powerful declaration of her chaste relationship with her husband's chancellor.

Why was Emma so concerned to emphasize her queenly sanctity and chaste relationship with Witgar? To answer that question, one must examine Witgar's political career more closely.[90] The first mention of Witgar occurred on 2 February 858, when he appeared at Regensburg as Louis's new chancellor.[91] For the next two years,

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[87] Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum libri tres* 1.16–17, ed. by Detlev Zimpel, Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte: Studien und Texte, 7 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1996), pp. 310–11.

[88] Raban, *De universo* 2.25, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 111, cols 584–85.

[89] Raban, *Epistolae*, no. 37, ed. by Dümmler, pp. 472–74.

[90] For overviews of Witgar's career, see Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, II, 436–37; Friedrich Zoepfl, *Das Bistum Augsburg und seine Bischöfe im Mittelalter* (Munich: Verlag Schnell and Steiner; Augsburg: Verlag Winfried-Werk, 1955), pp. 53–54; Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, vol. I: *Grundlegung: Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, MGH Schriften, 16 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1959), pp. 174–75; *Die Regesten der Bischöfe und des Domkapitels von Augsburg*, ed. by Wilhelm Volkert, vol. I (Augsburg: Schwäbische Forschungsgemeinschaft, 1985), no. 38, pp. 37–39; Bigott, *Ludwig der Deutsche*, pp. 31–32, 140, 145, 151, 284.

[91] *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, no. 88.

Witgar served as the chancellor for all Louis's surviving diplomas save one, appearing for the last time in a diploma dated 8 May 860.[92] As chancellor, Witgar not only supervised the court scribes who composed the King's diplomas, but he also would have acted as an important ecclesiastical figure and advisor in the royal entourage. Louis the German rewarded Witgar for his service in the royal chancery. At the Treaty of Koblenz on 1–7 June 860, Witgar stood at the east Frankish king's side, for the first time with the title of abbot.[93] Louis seems to have made Witgar Abbot of Ottobeuren in eastern Alemannia, since the thirteenth-century *Ottobeuren Chronicle* lists a *Wicgarius* as the third abbot of that monastery.[94] Then, some time between June 860 and 863, Louis additionally bestowed upon Witgar the important bishopric of Augsburg, also in eastern Alemannia.[95] Witgar remained a prominent bishop and counselor at the east Frankish court until his death in 887. He served as Louis the German's envoy to Charles the Bald and Lothar II at Gondreville in June 859; he accompanied Louis the German to his meetings with Charles the Bald at Koblenz in 860 and at Metz in 867; he attended the important Synod of Worms in May 868 that took place in the King's presence; and he served as Louis's envoy to Rome.[96] Demonstrating his close ties to the east Frankish royal family, after Louis the German's death Witgar became the first archchaplain and chancellor of his youngest son, Charles III (876–88).[97] Witgar died in 887 and was buried in the cathedral at Augsburg. His fragmentary epitaph, which was excavated in the Augsburg crypt in the early 1960s, emphasized Witgar's career as chancellor, bishop, monk, and, it seems, abbot:

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[92] *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, nos 90–101. Grimald appears as archchaplain in *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, no. 89, which suggests that he remained Louis's archchaplain and high chancellor while Witgar served as chancellor under him.

[93] MGH CRF, 2, ed. by Boretius and Krause, no. 242, p. 154 and n. 13.

[94] *Chronicon Ottenburanum*, ed. by G. Pertz, MGH SS, 23 (Hannover: Hahn, 1874), p. 616.

[95] The precise date of Witgar's elevation to the episcopal seat of Augsburg is unknown, but it must have been after the Treaty of Koblenz in June 860, when he still bore only the title of abbot. The first datable reference to Witgar as *episcopus* is found in a letter of Pope Nicholas I, which refers to an east Frankish synod that Witgar attended as bishop that took place in 861–63: *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 860–874*, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann, MGH Concilia, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1998), no. 12, pp. 127–31. Wilfried Hartmann, *Das Konzil von Worms 868* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1977), pp. 56–76, convincingly argues for the authenticity of this letter of Pope Nicholas I.

[96] MGH CRF, 2, ed. by Boretius and Krause, no. 245, pp. 167–68; *Konzilien 860–874*, ed. by Hartmann, no. 25, pp. 307, 311, and nn. 213, 258. According to the anonymous *Vision of Charlemagne* that was written in the 860s, Witgar of Augsburg served as Louis's envoy to Rome: Patrick J. Geary, 'Germanic Tradition and Royal Ideology in the Ninth Century: The *Visio Karoli Magni*', reprinted in Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 49–76, esp. at pp. 51–53. For Witgar's presence at Gondreville in 859, see below.

[97] Fleckenstein, *Hofkapelle*, I, 189–90.

> …I was appointed chancellor and faithful overseer (abbot?).
> After that the lofty honor of bishop was granted to me.
> In all these stages I sought to adhere to the (Benedictine) Rule,
> And I did what I could and what God had entrusted to me.
> Now (?) I ask everyone who reads these verses on earth (?)
> To remember me with constant prayers,
> So that God here pardons all my sins
> And desires to unite me with the hosts of angels.[98]

The general outlines of Witgar's career indicate that Emma most likely gave him the belt some time between 858, when he first appeared as her husband's chancellor, and 876, when Emma died.[99] Within this eighteen-year window, several independent pieces of evidence point to the conclusion that Emma bestowed the belt on Witgar while he served as her husband's chancellor, that is, between February 858 and May 860. First, it seems significant that the inscription on the belt does not give Witgar the title *abbas* or *episcopus*, which suggests that Emma (who gave herself the title *regina*) presented him with the belt before his promotion in June 860. (The reference to Witgar as *sacro spiramine plenus*, a 'man full of sacred breath', i.e. full of the Holy Spirit, may simply refer to the fact that he was a member of the clergy and a monk.) Second, Notker of St-Gall corroborates the theory that Emma gave Witgar the belt while serving as chancellor. In his description of the distribution of belts and other items of clothing to prominent nobles, Notker emphasized that this especially concerned nobles in residence at the palace ('cunctis in palatio ministrantibus et in curte regia servientibus').[100] Notker was in a good position to know such details of court life, since his abbot had been Louis's long-time archchaplain, Grimald of St-Gall.[101]

Third, Emma's desire to emphasize her chaste relationship with Witgar makes the most sense in the political context of 858–60. During those two and a half years, Emma and Witgar both found themselves politically vulnerable. This period was

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[98] For Witgar's verse epitaph, see Bernhard Bischoff, 'Die karolingischen Inschriftensteine aus der Krypta-Grabung 1961/1962', in *Die Ausgrabungen in St. Ulrich und Afra in Augsburg, 1961–1962*, ed. by Joachim Werner, Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 23 (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1977), pp. 264–66; with emendations by Wolfgang Dieter Lebek, 'Das Versepitaph des Augsburger Bischofs und königlichen Kanzlers Witgar (gest. 887)', *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben*, 75 (1981), 73–85. Lebek, p. 78, points out that the reference to Witgar as *custosque fidelis* may allude to his position as head of a monastery, since Raban used that exact phrase in a verse epitaph to describe a deceased abbot.

[99] This is the date given to the Witgar-Belt in *Regesten der Bischöfe und des Domkapitiels von Augsburg*, ed. by Volkert, p. 39. Others suggest a date of 860–76, although they offer no justification for choosing 860 rather than 858 as the *terminus post quem*: *Suevia Sacra*, p. 195; *Augsburg: Geschichte in Bilddokumenten*, ed. by Blendinger and Zorn, p. 35.

[100] Notker, *Gesta Karoli* 2.21, ed. by Haefele, p. 92.

[101] Notker, *Gesta Karoli* 1.8, ed. by Haefele, p. 11.

overshadowed by Louis the German's bold effort to reunite the Carolingian Empire. In the summer of 858, Louis invaded Gaul with a large army and attempted to seize the west Frankish throne from his half-brother, Charles the Bald.[102] Louis's audacious campaign ultimately failed (but just barely), forcing him to retreat to the east in early 859. For the next two years, Louis sought to pick up the pieces from his failed invasion and reestablish a truce with Charles and Lothar II. After much negotiation he was able to reach a peaceful settlement with his brother and nephew in the Treaty of Koblenz.[103]

Louis's failed invasion of Gaul threatened Witgar's and Emma's positions at court, although for somewhat different reasons. Witgar had been a chief supporter of the east Frankish king throughout this period. He had accompanied Louis on his march into Gaul, and at the Treaty of Koblenz he stood at his king's side.[104] Indeed, it seems that Louis appointed Witgar chancellor in early 858 because Witgar's far-flung political connections were useful for his upcoming campaign. While historians have long puzzled over Witgar's family background, an overlooked diploma of Lothar II seems to indicate that he hailed from the middle kingdom of Lotharingia.[105] According to that diploma (which was drawn up in June 860 at Koblenz or soon thereafter), a 'certain man named *Witgarius*' possessed rich Lotharingian estates located north of Langres in the counties of Portois and Bassigny. The lands this *Witgarius* held were extensive, producing an annual yield of two thousand *modii* (roughly fifteen thousand litres or four thousand gallons) of wheat and five hundred wagons of hay and containing enough forest to feed 1500 pigs. The infrequent appearance of the name *Witgarius* in ninth-century sources, combined with the coincidence of his appearance at Louis's court and the events narrated in Lothar II's diploma, make it very likely that the two Witgars were one and the same person. Because Louis the German was planning an invasion of Gaul, Witgar's Lotharingian connections would have been extremely advantageous, since his new chancellor could help him win Lotharingian supporters for his western coup d'état (which potentially was directed as much against Lothar II as Charles the Bald). Moreover, Witgar's extensive estates near Langres — a city that marked the intersection of

[102] Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, pp. 426–46; Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 181–89; Hartmann, *Ludwig der Deutsche*, pp. 44–54.

[103] *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 860, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, p. 83; *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 860, ed. by Kurze, pp. 54–55; MGH CRF, 2, ed. by Boretius and Krause, no. 242, pp. 152–58.

[104] *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, no. 94; MGH CRF, 2, ed. by Boretius and Krause, no. 242, p. 154.

[105] *Urkunden Lothars II.*, ed. by Schieffer, no. 15; J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii*, vol. I, 2nd edn (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1906; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), no. 1294, p. 533. Fleckenstein, *Hofkapelle*, I, 189, concluded that Witgar was an Aleman, basing this judgement on the fact that he was Abbot of Ottobeuren and Bishop of Augsburg.

several major Gallic roads — could help Louis supply his large eastern army as it marched into Gaul later that year. In the months leading up to his western invasion, Louis issued a number of diplomas concerning lands along and beyond his kingdom's western borders as part of his preparations to supply his troops during the anticipated campaign.[106]

But, as Lothar II's diploma records, Witgar's defection to Louis put his estates in jeopardy. Here Witgar's situation was far from unique. Louis the German's attempt to conquer the west Frankish kingdom forced many nobles to switch allegiances and abandon their oaths, thus putting their lands and offices at risk and sparking innumerable local disputes throughout the empire. About the time Witgar appeared at Louis's court, Bishop Remigius of Lyon came before Lothar II and charged Witgar of having usurped those lands near Langres from his church. Remigius claimed that Witgar had acquired them through a fraudulent transaction that took place during the reign of Lothar I to the detriment of his bishopric.[107] After an investigation that seems to have taken place in 858, Lothar II returned the lands to Lyon. The coincidence of these events is probably not due to chance. It seems that either Remigius used Witgar's defection to Louis the German as an opportunity to assert claims over Witgar's Lotharingian lands, or that Witgar defected to Louis the German after Lothar II had revoked his properties. (Which was the case is unclear.) During the negotiations that followed Louis's failed 858 invasion, Witgar defended his claims to his Lotharingian estates. According to Lothar II's diploma, in June 859 Witgar appeared before Lothar II and Charles the Bald at Gondreville, apparently while serving as one of Louis the German's envoys seeking reconciliation.[108] At Gondreville Witgar asserted that Lothar II had acted unjustly, since he claimed to possess a diploma of Lothar I that confirmed his acquisition of the disputed properties. Lothar II therefore ordered a second investigation into the disputed lands, and he instructed Witgar to produce his diploma at the Koblenz meeting the following year.

As the witness list demonstrates, Witgar did attend the Koblenz meeting with Louis the German in June 860. At that important meeting, the assembled kings and nobles settled the pressing issue of the restitution of lands and offices that had been

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[106] *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, nos 89–92.

[107] It is possible that Lothar I had allowed Witgar to acquire these estates during the turmoil of the civil war of 840–42, when he was desperate to build up supporters in central Francia and 'promised everyone that he wanted to grant them the *honores* his father had given them and to increase them': Nithard, *Historiarum libri IIII*, 2.1, ed. by Ernest Müller, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 44 (Hannover: Hahn, 1907; repr. 1965), p. 13. Witgar's connection to Lothar I and office of chancellor suggest that he was related to Lothar I's earlier chancellor, also named Witgar (served 822–25), who later became Bishop of Turin (827–32): Fleckenstein, *Hofkapelle*, I, 122.

[108] The *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 859, ed. by Kurze, p. 53, noted Louis's numerous embassies to Lothar II and Charles, although they do not name any of Louis's messengers. Lothar II issued a diploma at Gondreville on June 17: *Urkunden Lothars II.*, ed. by Schieffer, no. 12.

revoked on account of defections during Louis's invasion. All three kings agreed that nobles should be forgiven for their broken oaths and have their personal properties restored if they sincerely returned to their king's allegiance, and that perhaps they might also be granted back their public offices (*honores*) 'if a realistic opportunity presents itself to us'.[109] At Louis's urging, Charles clarified in the Romance tongue (so that the west Frankish nobles could understand him) that he would restore to defectors the personal properties that they had inherited, purchased, or received from his predecessors, but not necessarily the properties and *honores* he himself had granted: 'In that case, I will freely do what I think is appropriate with regard to those men who returned to me.' Speaking in Frankish, Louis promised to do likewise.[110]

In spite of these agreements, Witgar failed to regain his Lotharingian estates. According to Lothar II's diploma, at Koblenz Witgar refused to appear before the Lotharingian king for judgement or produce the alleged diploma supporting his possession of the disputed lands. This angered Lothar II, and he once again ruled in favour of the bishopric of Lyon. In his diploma, Lothar expressed his extreme frustration with Witgar for repeatedly flouting his royal command: 'The above-mentioned Witgar not only disregarded the scheduled legal hearing [at Koblenz], but he even held our royal command to be worthless! Moreover, we ordered him a second time through our royal command to come to the hearing in-progress. But, like the first time, he similarly scorned our royal command a second and third time. He refused to obey our commands, since destroying justice he had been able to fraud the oft-mentioned church.' In this way, Witgar lost his Lotharingian properties and earned the ire of Lothar II. It was presumably to compensate his chaplain for his loyalty and the loss of his western estates that Louis the German promoted Witgar to Abbot of Ottobeuren in the summer of 860 and Bishop of Augsburg soon thereafter.

During this tumultuous period of civil war, shifting allegiances, and confiscations, Emma likewise found herself in a vulnerable position. In the years leading up to his invasion of Gaul, Louis consolidated his power in Alemannia, which was a strategic geopolitical frontier for Louis's policy of western expansion. In the process, Emma's Welf relatives fell from her husband's favour, especially her powerful brother, Conrad I.[111] Emma's brother was a magnate of considerable standing; one contemporary described him as 'Conrad, the most famous prince, renowned above all others

[109] MGH CRF, 2, ed. by Boretius and Krause, p. 156, c. 7.

[110] MGH CRF, 2, ed. by Boretius and Krause, no. 242, pp. 156, c. 7, 158, c. 7. The records from Koblenz state that it was *Hlotharius* who made the same promise in the *lingua Theudisca*, although, as Patrick J. Geary pointed out to me, the context suggests that the scribe meant to write *Hludowicus*.

[111] Here I follow the arguments of Michael Borgolte, *Geschichte der Grafen Alemanniens in fränkischer Zeit* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1984), pp. 253–55; Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 165–70.

among the counsels of the kings and the leading men of the court'.[112] In 839, the elderly Louis the Pious had promoted Conrad I to a series of counties in Alemannia — the Argengau, Alpgau, Alaholfsbaar, and on the northern shore of Lake Constance — as part of his buildup of power in the East against Louis the German, who was rebelling against him. During the civil war after Louis the Pious's death, Conrad I became a supporter of Louis the German, and he served as the east Frankish king's envoy to his rival elder brother, Lothar I, in 842.[113] Following the Treaty of Verdun, Louis the German at first supported his Welf brother-in-law. Conrad I retained his Alemannian counties, and he also seems to have received the additional county of Linzgau. Moreover, Conrad's son Welf II also appeared as count in his father's Alemannian counties.[114] However, in 853 Conrad I's other two sons, Conrad II and Hugh, departed from Louis's kingdom and went over to Charles the Bald. This was a hostile act towards Louis, since in recent years relations between Louis and Charles had become adversarial.[115] In return for their switch of loyalty, Charles granted Conrad II and Hugh the Burgundian county of Auxerre and the wealthy monastery of St-Germain, also in Auxerre.[116] In response to this betrayal by Conrad I's sons, after 853 Louis began to revoke his Alemannian counties and bestow them on a member of the rival Udalriching family, Count Udalrich.[117]

The east Frankish court went so far as to blame Louis's failed invasion of Gaul on the treachery of Conrad I's sons. According to the so-called *Annals of Fulda* (which at this point were being composed at Mainz), when Louis invaded Gaul in 858, Conrad II and Hugh at first deserted Charles and went over to the east Frankish king, who sent them to Burgundy to spy out Charles's position. However, to 'avenge their injuries' (presumably including Louis's revoking the Welf counties in Alemannia), Conrad II and Hugh double-crossed Louis and enabled Charles the Bald to drive him out of his kingdom. The *Annals of Fulda* reported:

> With an exaggerated sense of security, [Louis] sent home the entire strength of the army he had brought with him from the East and vainly placed his faith in those who had deserted and betrayed their own lord [i.e. Charles]. Heeding their councils, he decided to winter there, being ignorant of the extreme danger to him on all sides that was being prepared by Charles's partisans. To avenge their injuries, the sons of Count Conrad [I]

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[112] *Ex Heirici Miracuorum Sancti Germani libro II*, 2.2, ed. by G. Waitz and others, MGH SS, 13 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881; repr. Stuttgart, 1985), p. 401.

[113] Nithard, *Historiarum libri IIII*, 4.3, ed. by Müller, p. 44.

[114] Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 290–91.

[115] In 852, Charles the Bald formed an alliance with Lothar I, which Louis the German viewed as hostile: *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 852, 853, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, pp. 64, 66–68.

[116] *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France*, vol. I, ed. by Georges Tessier (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1943), no. 156.

[117] Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 255–66. Borgolte identifies this count as Udalrich IV.

> stirred up Charles's courage and reported to him that Louis, believing himself to be secure, had few men from his army with him. For, believing they were faithful to him, Louis had sent them to spy out Charles's activities and report back to him. But they betrayed their faith and joined Charles, reporting that because of his carelessness Louis might be overcome with a large army and driven out with a concerted attack.[118]

It would be dangerous to take the *Annals of Fulda*'s account at face value: Conrad II and Hugh had defected to Charles in 853, and it is unlikely that Louis would have placed much trust in them five years later. In short, the *Annals of Fulda* were scapegoating a group of nobles who already had fallen from the east Frankish king's favour. Nevertheless, they clearly reflect Louis's adversarial attitude towards his wife's Welf relatives in the late 850s.

Emma's position at court therefore was highly precarious while Witgar served as her husband's chancellor in 858–60. Her husband had revoked her relatives' offices in Alemannia, and people around the court (perhaps including Louis himself) blamed them for the failure of his invasion of Gaul. Emma was confronting a problem that early medieval queens often faced: as the policies of her husband had evolved, the aristocratic alliance her marriage brought him had become undesirable. As a result, Emma had reason to fear political attacks from her relatives' enemies, and she even may have suspected that Louis might try to divorce her. In the late 850s, divorce still seemed a viable political strategy for Carolingian kings who no longer wanted their wives. The year before Louis's invasion of Gaul, Lothar II had repudiated his barren queen, Theutberga, and rekindled a relationship with an Alsatian noblewoman named Waldrada who already had borne him a son.[119] Louis the German initially supported his nephew's remarriage. In 857 Waldrada courted Louis's favour by making a rich donation of lands to the east Frankish bishopric of Chur, and Louis confirmed her grant with a royal diploma.[120] Moreover, at this time Louis briefly granted Waldrada the Zurich convent of Sts-Felix-and-Regula, which had become vacant because of his daughter Hildegard's death in 856.[121] Facing the possibility of political opposition and perhaps even divorce, Emma could expect the customary 'prefabricated' moral attacks against ninth-century queens: sexual promiscuity, adultery, and witchcraft. These were the accusations raised against Emma's sister and the imperial chamberlain Bernard three decades earlier, and they also were the charges that

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[118] *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 858, ed. by Kurze, pp. 50–51; *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 858, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, pp. 78–79. (The translation of Timothy Reuter, *Annals of Fulda* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), p. 43, is somewhat misleading.) For a discussion of these events, see Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 177–80, although our interpretations differ on the chronology of Conrad II and Rudolf's defection to Charles.

[119] *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 857, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, p. 74. In general, see Airlie, 'Private Bodies', pp. 3–38.

[120] *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, no. 84.

[121] MacLean, 'Queenship', p. 21.

Lothar II eventually levied at Theutberga to legitimate their divorce. Witgar was a likely candidate for Emma's alleged paramour since, as had been the case of Bernard and Judith, his prominent position at court meant that he spent considerable time with the east Frankish queen. And Witgar could not necessarily count on Louis the German's support. The east Frankish king generally remained an ally of Lothar II throughout this period (although Louis's invasion of Gaul had momentarily scared his nephew), and Lothar II's animosity toward Witgar over the Lotharingian estates meant that he might try to turn Louis the German against his chancellor. Moreover, as soon as Louis the German's invasion of Gaul failed, Witgar's ties to Lotharingia lost their immediate usefulness for him. By early 859, therefore, Emma and Witgar both found themselves expendable.

Thus, if the dating of the Witgar-Belt to 858–60 is correct, then Emma's gift to Witgar takes on a heightened political and ideological significance. By giving Witgar the belt, Emma made a dramatic statement about her sanctity and Mary-like sexual purity at a moment when her queenly virtue might be seriously challenged. Through the gift, Emma attempted to inoculate herself against malicious charges she feared from her enemies and perhaps even her husband. Because Witgar presumably wore the Queen's gift in public, that object would have functioned as a proclamation to the Carolingian world of his clerical celibacy and chaste relationship with Louis the German's Queen. Seen in this light, the elegant Witgar-Belt does not symbolize a moment of political harmony for Queen Emma, but rather one of extreme danger and vulnerability.

The Witgar-Belt had one last symbolic message. Its Latin inscription was an emblem of Emma's Latin literacy and learning. One of the results of the Carolingian Renaissance was a general rise in literacy among noblewomen, and Emma seems to have been part of this trend.[122] Regino praised Emma for her 'nobility of mind', and her siblings Judith and Conrad I likewise were known for their learning and patronage of scholars.[123] Because noblewomen often supervised the early education of their children, the fact that Emma's eldest son, Carloman, was literate and knew how to write (the latter a rare royal skill) may be evidence of Emma's tutelage.[124] Emma had access to the numerous books at her husband's court, and her relationship with churchmen like Witgar and Raban undoubtedly involved intellectual exchanges.[125]

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[122] On women and literacy under the Carolingians, see Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 223–27.

[123] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 876, ed. by Kurze, pp. 110–11; *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 863, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, p. 95; Ward, 'Caesar's Wife', p. 224.

[124] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, ed. by Kurze, p. 116; *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 879, ed. by Kurze, p. 93.

[125] Like other churchmen around Louis the German and Raban, Witgar was something of a scholar and bibliophile. Witgar owned a copy of Pseudo-Eucherius's commentaries on the books of Genesis and Kings, and Hincmar of Laon sent a priest to him to acquire other hard-

In this way, the Latin inscription on the Witgar-Belt served as a badge of the east Frankish queen's literacy. It is therefore all the more remarkable that the inscription contains an obvious grammatical error. It should read *sacro spiramine pleno* (instead of *plenum*), to agree with the masculine dative form of *Witgario*. It is hard to know what to make of this, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Emma (who, like her husband, probably spoke Frankish as her mother tongue) did not have perfect command of Latin. Just as interesting, it would seem that no one in the royal entourage had the courage to tell Emma that she had woven a mistake into her gift! The Witgar-Belt therefore remains a memorial to the proud, albeit admittedly imperfect, Latin literacy of the first east Frankish queen.

Emma's Last Years

Both Witgar and Emma weathered Louis the German's failed invasion of Gaul. By the Treaty of Koblenz, Louis had decided to reward Witgar for his service, appointing him Abbot of Ottobeuren and, soon thereafter, Bishop of Augsburg. Emma similarly survived the downfall of her Welf relatives and remained Louis's Queen for the rest of her long life. Indeed, the Welfs regained some of their earlier favour with Louis at the Treaty of Koblenz. Emma's brother Conrad I stood as first witness among the laymen at Koblenz, and also present were Conrad I's son Conrad II as well as Conrad I's brother, the west Frankish magnate Count Rudolf of Troyes.[126] The kings' agreement to pardon nobles who had defected and restore their family lands had direct relevance to Conrad I, and Louis carried through with his pledge. The following year, Louis issued a diploma confirming an exchange of lands in Alemannia between Conrad I and Grimald of St-Gall, and the King gave his brother-in-law the honorific title 'illustrious count'.[127] This demonstrates that Emma's brother had regained his personal properties in Alemannia and favour with Louis, although there is no evidence that he received back his Alemannian counties.[128] Reflecting his new favour with the east Frankish king, in 862 Conrad I served as one of Louis's 'smooth-talking envoys' to the west Frankish court to defend Lothar II's recent coronation of Waldrada as his lawful wife and queen. Hincmar disdainfully reported that Conrad was trying to thwart Charles the Bald's (and Hincmar's) opposition to Lothar II's divorce. Hincmar wrote, 'Louis and Lothar were especially

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to-find theological works: Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, II, 436 and n. 5; *Regesten der Bischöfe und des Domkapitels von Augsburg*, ed. by Volkert, I, no. 38, p. 39.

[126] *Concilia aevi Karolini*, ed. by Werminghoff, no. 242, p. 154. Rudolf had supported Charles the Bald since Louis the Pious's death, and he had risen to Count of Troyes and lay abbot of St-Riquier in his service: Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 141, 177–78, 191, 192–93, 228.

[127] *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, no. 103.

[128] Borgolte, *Grafen*, p. 168.

heeding the advice of their counselor, Conrad, Charles's uncle, who as usual was trying through his haughty but frivolous knowledge of the world (which was of no benefit to himself or anyone else) to prevent the people from learning the charges that Charles was bringing against Lothar.'[129] This was Conrad I's last appearance in the sources, suggesting that Emma's brother died soon thereafter.[130]

Following her relatives' rehabilitation at Koblenz, Emma's position at the east Frankish court became more secure. Indeed, the evidence points to the conclusion that the elderly Emma witnessed a significant expansion of her authority and influence. It was during the 860s and 870s that chroniclers for the first time noted her whereabouts, suggesting that she enjoyed a heightened political profile during the last decade and a half of her life.[131] In these years Emma seems to have played an elevated role in matters of royal representation as well. On three separate occasions the *Annals of Fulda* explicitly referred to her as *regina*, suggesting a new level of recognition of her elevated royal status. A liturgical scroll known as the *Lorsch-Rotulus*, which was made for Louis the German's court during the 860s or 870s, contained acclamations for the east Frankish royal family that likewise referred to Louis the German's wife as *Hemma regina*.[132] In this period Emma accompanied her husband to at least some important royal assemblies and diplomatic meetings, where she would have been publicly hailed as queen through rituals such as the chanting of acclamations.[133] On several occasions we hear that Emma was at one of Louis's two chief residences, Frankfurt and Regensburg, while he was at the other, suggesting that Emma acted as her husband's representative while the King was in another part

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[129] *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 862, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, pp. 94–95.

[130] Emma's other brother, Rudolf I, died in 866: *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 866, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, p. 125.

[131] *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 864, 870, 875, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, pp. 115, 176, 199; *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 874, 875, 876, ed. by Kurze, pp. 83, 85.

[132] Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS Barth. 179. Concerning this manuscript, see Astrid Krüger, 'Sancte Nazari ora pro nobis – Ludwig der Deutsche und der Lorscher Rotulus', in *Ludwig der Deutsche und seine Zeit*, ed. by Hartmann, pp. 184–202 (p. 188 and n. 17 for dating of the manuscript). I am inclined to connect the presentation of the *Lorsch-Rotulus* with Louis the German's grant to Lorsch on Rogation Sunday (23 May) 868 during the Synod of Worms: *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, no. 126. Rogation Sunday was a day reserved for chanting penitential litanies like those on the *Lorsch-Rotulus*, and Louis the German's diploma for Lorsch specified that the monks should pray for him, his wife, and their children.

[133] Emma may have been at Louis's side during the 868 Synod of Worms (she was with him soon thereafter), and she attended her husband's assembly at Frankfurt in 871: *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 868, 871, ed. by Kurze, pp. 67, 74; *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, nos 128, 141. Emma also may have accompanied Louis to his meeting with Charles the Bald at Tusey in February 865: *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 864, 865, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, pp. 114–16.

of the realm.[134] Moreover, Emma's three reported intercessions in her husband's diplomas all took place after the Treaty of Koblenz: in 863 on the behalf of the convent of Sts-Felix-and-Regula (which was held by their daughter Bertha); in 868 for the Saxon nuns of Herford (where Emma's Ecbertiner relative Hadwig was abbess); and in 871 for the Lotharingian monastery of Prüm. Taken together, this evidence for Emma's political, ideological, and ceremonial roles during the 860s and 870s provides a stark contrast with her general invisibility in the sources during the previous decades.

There are several possible explanations for Emma's increased prominence late in her reign. The first has to do with Lothar II's divorce of Theutberga and marriage to Waldrada, which by the 860s had become an international scandal that drew the heavy censure of Pope Nicholas I (858–67). Although Louis the German had supported Lothar II's divorce and remarriage, by the mid-860s he had begun to bow to papal pressure and oppose his nephew, now in the hope that Lothar II would die without a legitimate heir and leave his middle kingdom for the taking. Indeed, in February 865 Louis the German and Charles the Bald struck an alliance at Tusey where they openly criticized their nephew for casting aside his legal (and barren) wife.[135] Two years later, Louis and Charles met again at Metz and secretly agreed to divide Lotharingia between them 'if God will give us still more from the kingdoms of our nephews'.[136] (Witgar of Augsburg was present at the 867 Metz meeting, suggesting that his Lotharingian connections once again had become useful to Louis.) In the context of this growing criticism of Lothar II's marital troubles, Louis may have placed a new emphasis on Emma's status as his lawful queen to contrast his own marriage with his nephew's illegitimate union with Waldrada. Charles the Bald likewise placed a heightened emphasis on his wife Ermentrude's status as queen at this time, perhaps also to contrast his family situation with that of his nephew.[137]

A second factor contributing to Emma's heightened profile was her influence in the volatile issue of royal succession that dominated Louis's policies in those years. During the 860s and 870s, Louis the German's three sons, Carloman, Louis the Younger, and Charles III, repeatedly rebelled against their father to expand their lands and independent power, thereby threatening a replay of the rebellions of the 830s with Louis the German playing the role of his father.[138] In an effort to assuage

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[134] *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 864, 875, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, pp. 115, 199; *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 875, ed. by Kurze, p. 83.

[135] *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 864 (correct: 865), ed. by Kurze, p. 62; MGH CRF, 2, no. 244, ed. by Boretius and Krause, pp. 165–67 (esp. c. 6).

[136] MGH CRF, 2, no. 245, ed. by Boretius and Krause, pp. 167–68.

[137] Franz-Reiner Erkens, '"Sicut Esther regina": Die westfränkische Königin als *consors regni*', *Francia*, 20.1 (1993),15–38 (pp. 33–37).

[138] For Louis the German's tumultuous relations with his sons during these years, see Brigitte Kasten, *Königssöhne und Königsherrschaft: Untersuchungen zur Teilhabe am Reich*

his sons, in 865 Louis the German outlined the division of his kingdom among his sons after his death: Carloman would receive Bavaria and its Slavic marches; Louis the Younger would inherit Franconia, Thuringia, and Saxony; and Charles III would get Alemannia and Rhaetia. However, the King had imperial ambitions for his eldest son, Carloman: he hoped additionally to make him heir to Lotharingia (the eastern half of which Louis had acquired in the 870 Treaty of Meersen following Lothar II's death), and he also sought to establish Carloman as successor to his other heirless nephew, Emperor Louis II of Italy (840/55–75). Fearing an unequal succession plan reminiscent of the 817 *Ordinatio imperii*, Louis the Younger and Charles III repeatedly conspired against their father during the last decade of his reign. As the mother of Louis the German's heirs, Emma had a say in royal succession.[139] The queen was expected to 'regulate peacefully the children and the household', and this maternal duty necessitated her involvement in the contentious issue of inheritance.[140] This in turn helps explain the elderly Emma's newfound prominence in her husband's counsels. Indeed, Hincmar explicitly reported in 870 that Emma was urging her husband to favour Carloman, thereby causing their younger two sons to rebel.[141] Queen Emma therefore seems to have been a driving force behind Louis the German's imperial aspirations for their eldest son.

Louis the German and Emma aspired to become imperial rulers themselves as well. The elderly east Frankish royal couple plotted to invade Italy and have themselves crowned emperor and empress in Rome, thereby foreshadowing the policies of east Frankish/German emperors for centuries to come. In the fall of 871, a rumour had spread throughout Europe that Duke Adalgis of Benevento had murdered the heirless Emperor Louis II of Italy, thereby seeming to leave the Italian throne and imperial sceptre up for grabs.[142] Although the rumor turned out to be false, Louis and

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in der Merowinger- und Karolingerzeit (Hannover: Hahn, 1997), pp. 498–546; Hartmann, *Ludwig der Deutsche*, pp. 66–76.

[139] Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers*, pp. 156–65.

[140] Nelson, 'Early Medieval Rites of Queen Making', pp. 304–05, citing the fifth chapter of Sedulius Scottus's 869 treatise, *Liber de rectoribus christianis*.

[141] *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 870, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, p. 176. Emma's favour for Carloman is further demonstrated by the fact that she jointly intervened with Carloman on behalf of the Lotharingian monastery of Prüm in 871 (thus suggesting her support for Carloman's inheritance of Lotharingia): *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, no. 141. Moreover, when Emma fell ill in 874, Carloman was the only son at her bedside at Regensburg, and he co-subscribed his father's pious grant for the ailing Queen's health: *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, no. 161; *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 874, 875, ed. by Kurze, p. 83. Cf. *Annals of St.-Bertin*, trans. by Janet L. Nelson, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p. 170 and n. 19, who offers a different interpretation of this passage.

[142] *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 871, ed. by Kurze, p. 74; *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 871, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, pp. 182–83.

the rest of Frankish Europe believed it was true for a number of weeks in September and October. Louis the German immediately made preparations to invade Italy. He held an assembly at Frankfurt in mid-October to muster his army, which included a number of Saxon and Lotharingian magnates.[143] Also present at the Frankfurt assembly were Queen Emma and Carloman, presumably because they intended to accompany Louis to Italy and participate in an imperial coronation. In the midst of these military preparations at Frankfurt, Emma and Carloman jointly intervened in a diploma on behalf of the important Lotharingian monastery of Prüm, which suggests Emma's support for Carloman's inheritance of the middle kingdom as well as Italy.[144] Indicating his lofty aspirations for himself and his family at this moment, Louis made an unusual provision in his diploma for Prüm: he arranged for twenty clerics to be established at the Lotharingian churches of St Justina and St Mary in Bachem (south-west of Cologne) to pray and feed the poor for the salvation of his soul and the souls of Emma and their children. Thus, on the eve of their departure for Italy, Louis was seeking to heighten the sacred aura around himself, Emma, and their children — especially their presumptive imperial heir, Carloman.

In the midst of these preparations at Frankfurt, Louis and Emma may have given serious consideration to an imperial coronation in Rome. Throughout the ninth century, Carolingian rulers increasingly used coronations for themselves and their wives to heighten their royal majesty, express their political and territorial ambitions, and invoke the sacred magic of the liturgy for themselves and their family.[145] Louis the Pious probably crowned Emma's sister, Judith, in 819, and Lothar II had Waldrada crowned queen in 862 after repudiating Theutberga. Of all the ninth-century rulers, Charles the Bald proved the most innovative in the use of coronations and consecrations. Charles had his son crowned and anointed ruler of Aquitaine in 855; he had his daughter, also named Judith, crowned and anointed queen when she married King Aethelwulf of Wessex in 856; he had his queen, Ermentrude, anointed and crowned in 866; and he had himself anointed and crowned King of Lotharingia in 869 when he momentarily seized that kingdom. In contrast, historians have long doubted that either Louis the German or Emma were crowned, giving the false impression that the east Frankish court was a ceremonial 'backwater' in comparison to the rest of ninth-century Frankish Europe.[146] This picture arises from an over-reliance on the *Annals*

[143] *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 871, ed. by Kurze, p. 74; *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, nos. 140–42.

[144] *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, no. 141.

[145] For an overview of the coronations during the ninth century, see Brühl, 'Fränkischer Krönungsbrauch', pp. 265–326.

[146] Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, I, 26; Percy Ernst Schramm, 'Salbung und Krönung bei den Ostfranken bis zur Thronbesteigung König Heinrichs I.', in Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. II (Stuttgart, 1968), pp. 287–302; Timothy Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages, c. 800–1056* (London: Longman, 1991), p. 120; Kasten, *Königssöhne*, p. 196.

of Fulda, which contain very little information about court ceremony when compared to the west Frankish *Annals of St-Bertin*. Louis almost certainly had a coronation and wore a crown. A liturgical manuscript dated 826/7 that belonged to Bishop Baturich of Regensburg contained coronation blessings and acclamations for Louis the German, while the acclamations for Louis in the *Grimalt-Codex* hailed him as the 'great and pacific king crowned by God'.[147] On his first royal seal, moreover, Louis had himself depicted wearing an ornate diadem.[148]

Indeed, it is possible that the text for Louis and Emma's intended imperial coronation survives. A codex in the Vatican Apostolic Library (Reg. lat. 421) is a compilation of fragmentary manuscripts that were later put together in a single volume. Folios 21–25 consists of a ternio (the last page is missing) containing a number of miscellaneous canonical texts and verses, including on folio 25^{v} a coronation blessing (*ordo*) for an unnamed king and queen.[149] Based on paleographical grounds, Bernhard Bischoff and Reinhard Elze concluded that this *ordo* was written down in the third quarter of the ninth century (i.e. *c*. 850–*c*. 875) somewhere in the western region of the east Frankish kingdom.[150] As Elze emphasized, the *ordo* is highly unusual and is not related to the other surviving Carolingian coronation blessings. Most striking is the *ordo*'s 'high' style that freely mixes the language of kingship and empire. The coronation blessing refers to the king and queen as 'rulers wearing diadems' (*reges habentes diademata*) and ruling (*regnare*, *imperare*) multiple kingdoms and an empire (*regna*, *imperium*). The *ordo* goes on to ask God to 'extend the Roman Empire to the furthest borders' so that it might be 'girded by the lapping ocean'. Bischoff and Elze's dating and localization of this manuscript combined with the *ordo*'s lofty imperial rhetoric dovetail exactly with what we know about Louis the German and Emma's preparations in October 871 to invade Italy. It therefore is possible that this coronation liturgy records the blessing that Louis and Emma intended to bring with them to Rome for their hoped-for imperial coronation. In the end this cannot be proven, however, and it must remain speculation. Nevertheless, the simple existence

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[147] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14510, fols 39^{v}–41^{r} (*laudes regiae*), 72^{v}–74^{r} (*ordines*); *Grimalt-Codex*, St-Gall 397, p. 1 (*laudes regiae*). The *ordines* from Baturich's pontifical are edited in *Ordines coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, vol. I, ed. by Richard A. Jackson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 66–68.

[148] Percy Ernst Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751–1190*, ed. by Florentine Mütherich (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1983), no. 49, pp. 178, 322. Louis used this seal as King of Bavaria in 830–33.

[149] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 421. For a detailed discussion and edition of the *ordo* on fol. 25^{v}, see Reinhard Elze, 'Ein karolingischer Ordo für die Krönung eines Herrscherpaares,' *Bullettino dell'Instituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 98 (1992), 417–23.

[150] Elze, 'Ein karolingischer Ordo', p. 418 and n. 6.

of the *ordo* suggests that east Frankish churchmen were willing to draft novel coronation prayers that reflected Louis and Emma's evolving imperial schemes.

In the end, Louis and Emma's dreams of imperial glory came to naught. In late October 871, they learned that the rumor of Emperor Louis II's murder was false, and they called off the invasion of Italy. In late 874 Emma suffered a stroke that deprived her of her voice, and during Easter the following year Louis visited his ailing wife at Regensburg.[151] On 18 May 875, Louis issued a diploma granting the Bavarian monastery of Berg to his royal chapel in Regensburg for Emma's health and salvation (*salus*).[152] The Queen's favoured son, Carloman, was at her bedside, and he co-signed his father's diploma. This was an especially appropriate gift on the Queen's behalf. Louis had built the Regensburg chapel in honor of St Mary, and his donation therefore made St Mary, with whom Emma so closely identified herself through the Witgar-Belt, the special protector of his wife's body and soul. Emma lived just long enough to see her imperial hopes dashed once again. Later in 875 Louis II of Italy died, and Charles the Bald managed to drive Carloman from Italy and seize the imperial throne for himself.[153] Emma died on 31 January 876 and was buried in the important Regensburg monastery of St-Emmeram after a reign of almost forty-nine years, making her the longest-reigning Carolingian queen on record.[154] She predeceased Louis the German by only seven months.

This investigation into Emma's long career provides several general insights into Carolingian queenship and the contribution of royal wives to the representation of Carolingian power. First, Emma's reign highlights how the careers of queens often fell into distinct phases. As we have seen, Emma experienced at least three distinct stages of her career: her limited political and ideological profile between 827 and the early 850s; her vulnerability between 853 and 860 because of her family's fall from her husband's favour; and then the expansion of her influence and queenly status during the 860s and 870s. Political and biological forces largely outside the Queen's control converged in unpredictable ways to shape the different phases of her reign: her familial relations, her fertility and longevity, her husband's evolving political schemes, dynastic politics within the royal family, and aristocratic power struggles within the court and kingdom. Nevertheless, a queen like Emma was not helpless. She could adapt and improvise in order to overcome political challenges, although, as a woman, she could not exercise independent political power as a man could. Instead, Emma had to negotiate her way through the minefield of Carolingian politics

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[151] *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 874, 875, ed. by Kurze, p. 83.

[152] *Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, ed. by Kehr, no. 161.

[153] *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 875, ed. by Kurze, pp. 84–85; Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, II, 384–411; Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 238–44.

[154] For the place of Emma's burial, see Franz Fuchs, 'Das Grab der Königin Hemma (†876) zu St. Emmeram in Regensburg', in *Regensburg und Ostbayern*, ed. by Franz Karg (Kallmünz: Kommissionsverlag Michael Lassleben, 1991), pp. 1–10.

according to circumscribed female gender roles available to her, such as wife, mother, mistress of the household, and holy woman. The Witgar-Belt is a case in point, since it highlights some of the ways in which royal wives could use the gender-specific activities of weaving and gift-giving to make personal statements about their own authority as queen. Through the Witgar-Belt, Emma publicly asserted her female sanctity, chastity, and close association with the Virgin Mary at a moment when her family's fall from favour made her highly vulnerable to political attack and scandal. This last point once again emphasizes the ever-present vulnerability of Carolingian queens in spite of their participation in royal ceremony and court politics. Although royal wives might become quite influential and exalted as queens and empresses, they were dependent on the king's support, and they remained assailable through scandal and malicious attacks from enemies. Seen in this light, Emma's forty-nine year reign was an impressive achievement of political survival.

This examination of Emma's career also emphasizes the importance of using a wide range of sources to study royal symbolism and ideology. In his *Dangers of Ritual*, Philippe Buc rightly stressed the pitfalls of relying on narrative sources to study political rituals like coronations, bowing, and feasting, since chroniclers' reports of ceremonial behaviour often reflected their political arguments and agendas more than historical reality.[155] While this is undoubtedly true, the historian of early medieval ritual can compensate for this by comparing and supplementing the reports of chroniclers with other kinds of non-narrative sources: letters, royal diplomas, monastic charters, poetry, liturgical texts, theological treatises, royal portraiture, and material artefacts. The above analysis of the Witgar-Belt has endeavoured to show how scholars can uncover a wide range of insights about the politics and ideology of Carolingian rule by decoding the imagery of surviving royal 'antiquities' in light of their precise historical contexts. Through an interdisciplinary approach that places equal emphasis on narrative and non-narrative sources, the visual arts, and material culture, historians can arrive at a more nuanced understanding of the representations of royal power in medieval Europe.

[155] Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Ritual, Misunderstanding, and the Contest for Meaning: Representations of the Disrupted Royal Assembly at Frankfurt (873)

SIMON MACLEAN

Introduction

Among the most familiar representations of medieval royal power is the pose of the reluctant ruler. Rulers who voluntarily claimed to reject or renounce power often did nothing of the sort: a posture of renunciation of power contains within it an implicit claim to its exercise. In the early Middle Ages, as in other periods of history, public displays of royal reluctance, or at least their representation, could serve to elicit a renewal of support from a ruler's followers, and to project an image of humility which invoked safe images of responsible and divinely approved power from history and from the Bible.[1] This was never truer than during the hegemony of the Carolingian dynasty over the Frankish Empire in the eighth and ninth centuries. The Carolingians refined the ideology of kingship as a ministry granted by God, as much a burden to be borne as an office to be fulfilled.[2] Carolingian political discourse was therefore replete with images of rulership expressed as humility, from Einhard's claim that Charlemagne (768–814) would never have entered St Peter's on Christmas Day 800 had he known that the pope was about to crown him emperor, to the image of his grandson Charles the Bald (843–77) prostrating himself before the

[1] Björn Weiler, 'The *Rex Renitens* and the Medieval Idea of Kingship, ca.900 – ca.1250', *Viator*, 31 (2000), 1–42.

[2] Mayke de Jong, '*Sacrum palatium et ecclesia*: L'autorité religieuse royale sous les Carolingiens (790–840)', *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 58 (2003), 1243–69.

cross in his own personal prayerbook.[3] The Carolingian king as 'exalted servant', humble before God and his chosen people, was a construction hammered out time and time again in the rituals, texts, and images of the ninth century.

This essay revolves around a case study which chimes with this aspect of the representation of power. Our setting is the disrupted royal assembly at Frankfurt in January 873 at which the thirty-four-year-old east Frankish prince Charles (the future King and Emperor Charles III 'the Fat', 876–88) declared that he wished to withdraw from the secular world. The incident emerges in the sources almost as a parody of the sort of 'exalted servant' postures familiar from the mainstream of Carolingian political discourse: not so much a straightforward representation of power as of power gone wrong, out of control. The prince's strange declaration has long interested historians, and has been used to cast valuable light on late Carolingian politics, father-son dynastic relations, and the narrative strategies of contemporary annalists.[4] Historians have also argued that it gives us a genuine and rare insight into the interior life of a Carolingian prince.[5] This essay will view the incident from a new perspective, by interpreting it using current theories about early medieval rituals. After setting out the evidence, I will attempt to analyse Charles's behaviour as a type of penitential ritual which was intended to end a recent series of rebellions, but was consciously misunderstood by the annalists who wrote it down soon afterwards. It will be argued that this misunderstanding followed both from the prince's failure to orchestrate his actions according to commonly understood conventions, and from the observers' own political agendas which led them to distort their representations. The latter part of the article examines the response of Charles's father, King Louis the German (843–76), to the events of January 873, understanding his actions as part of a struggle to control the memory of his son's outburst and hence to override other contemporary interpretations of what had happened. In the course of this, I will

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[3] Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, c. 28, ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 25 (Hannover: Hahn, 1911), p. 32; Robert Deshman, 'The Exalted Servant: The Ruler Theology of the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald', *Viator*, 11 (1980), 385–417.

[4] Janet L. Nelson, 'A Tale of Two Princes: Politics, Text and Ideology in a Carolingian Annal', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 10 (1988), 103–40; reprinted in her *Rulers and Ruling Families in Early Medieval Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); Paul E. Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), pp. 211–19.

[5] See most recently: Janet L. Nelson, 'Monks, Secular Men and Masculinity, *c*. 900', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley (London: Longman, 1999), pp. 121–42 (pp. 133–35); Wilfried Hartmann, *Ludwig der Deutsche* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002), p. 73. Eric J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817–876* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005) will make a valuable contribution to the debate. Simon MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) mentions the incident only in passing.

argue for the relevance of a source which has not previously featured in discussions of this event: namely, the ruler portrait in the so-called *Ludwigspsalter*. This case study will also allow us to reflect more broadly on aspects of east Frankish political ideas, assembly politics, and symbolic communication.

Throughout, the question of how power is represented must be kept in the foreground. Current debates about political ritual and its interpretation can help shed new light on the 873 incident. Recent historians, most notably Geoffrey Koziol and Gerd Althoff, have fruitfully used early medieval descriptions of rituals to gain insights into contemporary political ideas and culture.[6] Recently, however, Philippe Buc has advanced challenging objections focused on the fact that such descriptions are authorial constructs. As such, he classifies them as 'contested narratives', not so much transparent descriptions of political rituals as parts of a post-fact debate about their significance, during which the record of events could be consciously and unconsciously distorted. Consequently, he maintains, any attempt to get beyond the texts to the stuff of politics itself is likely to be flawed.[7] The nature of this debate has tended to polarize the various points of view and sometimes made it appear as if they are mutually exclusive.[8] The present case study aims to find some middle ground by suggesting that, on the contrary, these theories can sometimes be employed in a complementary fashion to illuminate different aspects of ritual and its representation. In particular, I will argue that focusing our attention on the post-fact contest for meaning which followed high-profile political occasions, stressed by Buc, is a fruitful approach. By doing so, we can attempt to integrate the problem of authorial agendas into an analysis of actual political events in their contemporary context. The nature of the sources means that this is not always possible. However, we are fortunate in the case of the 873 assembly to have a dossier of texts which allows us to examine contemporary circumstances in more detail than is usually available. This

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[6] Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997).

[7] Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), esp. pp. 1–12, 51–87.

[8] For recent instalments, see Geoffrey Koziol, 'Review Article: The Dangers of Polemic: Is Ritual Still an Interesting Topic of Historical Study?', *EME*, 11 (2002), 367–88; Koziol, 'A Father, his Son, Memory, and Hope: The Joint Diploma of Lothar and Louis V (Pentecost Monday, 979) and the Limits of Performativity', in *Geschichtswissenschaft und 'Performative Turn': Ritual, Inszenierung und Performanz vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit*, ed. by Jürgen Martschukat and Steffen Patzold (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), pp. 83–103; Alexandra Walsham, 'Review Article: The Dangers of Ritual', *Past and Present*, 180 (2003), 277–87; Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003). See also Jean-Marie Moeglin, 'Pénitence publique et amende honorable au Moyen Age', *Revue Historique*, 298 (1997), 225–69.

was an exceptional case: a ritual which the sources do not describe as a ritual. We thus have an opportunity to use the contemporary accounts exactly because they are 'contested narratives', to build an appreciation of the way that political ideology was constructed, represented, and debated, always keeping the aims of our authors in mind.[9] First of all, however, we need to set the scene.

Sources and Interpretations

In January 873, shortly after celebrating Christmas, the east Frankish king Louis the German was sitting deep in conversation with his leading men and sons at the royal palace of Frankfurt when his youngest son, Charles, unexpectedly jumped up and interrupted the discussions. In a state of some distress, he announced that he wanted to abandon the world and to renounce sexual intercourse with his wife, Richgard, to whom he had been married since 861/2. He then threw his sword on the ground and began to remove his swordbelt and 'princely clothing'. As he did this he started to 'shake violently' and could barely be held down by six men. He was grabbed by the bishops and other faithful men and led into the church. At this point, Archbishop Liutbert of Mainz began to sing Mass, during which Charles shouted 'woe, woe' in the vernacular, threatening to bite those who were holding him. The King wept and admonished Charles's brother Louis the Younger for their rebellious plans and past behaviour, stating that the diabolical influence on the two of them was now revealed. Louis the German then handed Charles over to 'the bishops and other faithful men' to be sent round the shrines of the martyrs 'so that their merits and prayers might free him from the demon and he might be able by God's mercy to recover his sanity'. He also planned to send Charles to Rome but abandoned this idea when events got in the way.

There are no fewer than four narrative sources for these shocking events, and the account just set out is a composite based on the common points in the three most detailed and best-informed texts: the *Annals of St-Bertin* (composed by Archbishop Hincmar of Reims), the *Annals of Fulda* (anonymous, but written at the cathedral in Mainz), and the *Annals of Xanten* (written anonymously in the circle of the Archbishop of Cologne).[10] It is reasonable to suppose that each of these contemporaneous, and

[9] My approach may be analogous to that criticized by Buc, *Dangers of Ritual*, p. 4; by maintaining a focus on authorial intention, it is hoped that his objections as stated there are sidestepped.

[10] *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 873, ed. by Friedrich Kurze, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 7 (Hannover: Hahn, 1891), pp. 77–78; *Annales Bertiniani*, s.a. 873, ed. by Felix Grat and others, *Annales de Saint-Bertin* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1964), pp. 190–92; *Annales Xantenses et Annales Vedastini*, s.a. 873, ed. by Bernhard von Simson, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 12 (Hannover: Hahn, 1909), pp. 31–32. On these texts, see Heinz Löwe, 'Studien zu den Annales Xantenses', *DA*, 8 (1951), 59–99; Janet L. Nelson, 'The *Annals of St-Bertin*', in *Charles the Bald: Court and*

detailed, texts is based on independent eyewitness accounts. There can be no doubt that representatives of the churches of Mainz and Cologne were at the royal assembly. Hincmar, whether or not he was there himself, was in direct contact with Louis the German at this time, not least because his diocese had important contacts and interests within the east Frankish kingdom. Their testimony must therefore be accepted as plausible. The fourth source, written in the late 880s, is the *Life of Rimbert*, which refers to 'a certain son of the king' who was possessed by demons and crying out.[11] The bishops stood around dumbfounded, prompting Rimbert to seize the initiative and chase the demons out by reciting some psalms. This represents a record of the story as it travelled away from the Frankfurt assembly in both space and time: in the hands of Rimbert's hagiographer, the tale morphed into part of Hamburg-Bremen tradition as the miracle of a wonder-working bishop.

The witnesses do, of course, disagree on points of detail, as can be seen from the schematic table provided. However, for present purposes it is important to stress that all the authors agree about the basic facts of Charles's physical behaviour, his words and actions. These elements form the essentials of the composite just sketched out.[12] Where our three accounts diverge, sometimes quite markedly, is less in the actual events of the assembly than in the attribution of motivations to the protagonists. Thus, for instance, Hincmar says that Charles's distress had been caused by his discovery that his father was trying to ruin him; while the Xanten annalist claims that Charles and Louis were planning to depose their father at the assembly. It is possible, therefore, to separate out the (commonly attested) basic sequence of events on the one hand, and the authors' divergent interpretation of those events on the other. The events were clearly widely reported and well known and constituted the raw materials on which the annalists then imposed their interpretations. The significance of what happened was debated; but the facts of what happened may be confidently deduced. It follows from this that we are able to analyse two distinct aspects of the event: Charles's behaviour, and contemporary representations of it.

Kingdom, ed. by Margaret Gibson and Janet L. Nelson, 2nd edn (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1990), pp. 23–40; *The Annals of Fulda*, trans. by Timothy Reuter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 1–14.

[11] *Vita Rimberti*, c. 20, ed. by Georg Waitz, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 55 (Hannover: Hahn, 1884), pp. 96–97. On the text, see Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), pp. 134–36; James Palmer, 'Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii* and Scandinavian Mission in the Ninth Century', *JEH*, 55 (2004), 235–56.

[12] Hincmar is our most reliable informant on Charles at this point, because the prince had been at the west Frankish court in 872; at this point, the *Annals of Fulda* concentrate on Charles's brother at his expense: MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, p. 25.

Schematic Summary of the Three Main Sources

Annals of St-Bertin	Annals of Fulda	Annals of Xanten
LG holds general assembly at F/furt, summons sons and all faithful men.	LG holds general assembly at F/furt to discuss state of the kingdom.	LG holds general assembly at F/furt for bishops and laity.
Devil in the guise of an Angel of Light appears to CF in his house, says LG is trying to ruin him in favour of his eldest brother Karlmann, but will soon die and that he is to be king.		CF and LY plan to oppose him there, remove him from power, and imprison him.
CF terror-stricken, flees to church, Satan enters him through communion bread.		
In council, CF jumps up, announces desire to abandon the world and refuses to have intercourse with his wife. Removes sword, drops it to the ground, starts to remove swordbelt and 'princely clothing'.	God's providence reveals plot against King. Evil spirit possesses CF in the council, so he can hardly be held down by 6 men. LG and his men weep, 'appalled'.	God miraculously intervenes: evil spirit enters CF 'in the sight of all, and convulsed him horribly with discordant cries'.
Begins to shake violently, held by 'thunderstruck' bishops and leading men, led into church. LG is distressed.	Led to church so that bishops can pray for him.	
Liutbert sings Mass; CF cries out 'Woe, woe' repeatedly after Liutbert reaches the Gospels until the end.	CF 'yammers' alternately weakly and 'at the top of his voice', threatens to bite those holding him.	Spirit cast out the same day by the 'prayerful intercessions and entreaties of various priests'.
LG hands him over to the bishops to be taken round the shrines of martyrs to recover sanity.	LG admonishes LY that the sons' diabolically influenced rebellion has been revealed, says he should confess and do penance, and forgives him.	Shocked, LY falls at his father's feet, confesses, and begs for mercy.
LG plans to send him to Rome until (unspecified) events intervene.	CF announces that he has been possessed as many times as he plotted against his father.	LG settles the matter 'wisely and with moderation'.

All the contemporary sources regarded Charles's behaviour as a consequence of demonic or Satanic possession and interpreted this as a metaphor for the rebellion which the prince and his brother had been engaged in periodically over the previous two years, and apparently planned to resume. After all, what was rebellion if not the influence of the Devil interfering with the divinely ordained political order? Modern historians, on the other hand, have almost always interpreted the annalists' language of possession as a metaphor for mental and physical illness on Charles's part. Karl

Leyser, for example, confessed himself unsure about how to classify the incident, and stated that 'Charles disarmed himself in a fit of madness or diabolical possession [. . .] the bishops became [his] psychiatric helpers'.[13] Other historians echo this judgement, similarly relating Charles's actions using the vocabulary of mental disorder, epilepsy, and sickness.[14] Generally, these judgements are informed by a wider view of later Carolingian rulers in general, and Charles the Fat in particular, as physically and mentally weak and not up to the job. In this context, it has always seemed most convenient to file this peculiar incident in the box marked 'eccentric/ weak late ninth-century kings': simply one of a catalogue of disasters leading to the end of the empire in 888. Yet the validity of this master narrative has been seriously undermined by much recent work.[15] In view of this, it can no longer suffice to dismiss this story as evidence of the future emperor's physical or mental frailty.[16] As a result of the conventional understanding of the incident, it has been neglected as a representation of power whose very peculiarity offers us the chance to gain insights into kingship, political ideas, and ritual in later ninth-century east Francia.[17]

What Did Charles the Fat Think He Was Doing?

To address these issues, we must next attempt to understand the prince's actual behaviour at the Frankfurt assembly. Recently, Janet Nelson has offered a persuasive new interpretation of Charles's actions which dispenses with the traditional imagery of sickness and possession.[18] She identifies his attempt to renounce the world as representative of a more general phenomenon of the decades around 900, that of the conflicted elite layman. Charles, she argues, was one of a number of aristocratic and royal males

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[13] Karl Leyser, 'Early Medieval Canon Law and the Beginning of Knighthood', in his *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe*, vol. I: *The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (London: Hambledon, 1994), pp. 51–71 (pp. 66–67).

[14] Further references are provided in MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 23, 40–41. The epilepsy diagnosis has recently been restated by Brigitte Kasten, *Königssöhne und Königsherrschaft Untersuchungen zur Teilhabe am Reich in der Merowinger- und Karolingerzeit* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1997), pp. 536–37. It is, however, untenable: Hans J. Oesterle, 'Die sogenannte Kopfoperation Karls III. 887', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 61 (1979), 445–51; Erich Frčena, 'Karl III., der letzte Karolinger' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Vienna, 2002), p. 107 (I am grateful to the author for a copy of his work). For an interesting alternative perspective, see now Koziol, 'A Father, his Son, Memory, and Hope', p. 97.

[15] MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 1–22, provides a historiographical survey.

[16] See also MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 40–44.

[17] Among several exceptions to this neglect, see Nelson, 'Tale of Two Princes' (esp. p. 119); Dutton, *Politics*; and Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*.

[18] Nelson, 'Monks, Secular Men and Masculinity', pp. 133–35; cf. Dutton, *Politics*, p. 218.

who internalized Church teachings about the sinfulness of war and sex and became distressed to the point of wishing to renounce their secular offices. Later events in Charles's life, such as his claim in 887 that he had never had sexual intercourse with his wife, can be seen as supporting this reading.[19] The incident thus gives us access to the inner life of a pious layman, a troubled child of the Carolingian *correctio*.

This fascinating argument offers new insights into the mentality and masculinity of Charles and some of his contemporaries. However, the evidence will bear an alternative reading. We still have to ask why Charles's outburst took exactly the form it did, and why it happened at this particular time. There was a long Western tradition of kings and princes opting out to become monks and pilgrims, but it did not put down deep roots in the Frankish kingdoms and was especially rare after 800.[20] Only a handful of earlier Carolingians had become monks, but in completely different circumstances. Most of these went under duress, forced to accept tonsure after political rebellions.[21] Only two were genuinely voluntary: the mayor of the palace Carloman abdicated to a monastery in the 740s, but appears to have remained politically active; while in the 850s, Emperor Lothar I underwent a deathbed conversion and spent his last days in the monastery of Prüm.[22] Charles the Fat's situation was clearly different from these. What specific meaning might he have intended his behaviour to convey, and what circumstances and models informed it? Perhaps the most obvious interpretation, yet one which has never been put forward, is that the prince's outburst was not an expression of generalized inner turmoil, but instead a specific attempt to perform penance. Contemporary canonical pronouncements on the subject of penance conform very closely to some aspects of Charles's outburst. Carolingian legislation on public penance from east Francia in the second half of the ninth century required that the penitent renounce three things in particular: his swordbelt, his marriage, and his right to hold public office.[23] The wish to divest himself of these

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[19] Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, s.a. 887, ed. by Friedrich Kurze, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 50 (Hannover: Hahn, 1890), p. 127.

[20] Clare Stancliffe, 'Kings Who Opted Out', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. by C. Patrick Wormald, Donald Bullough, and Roger Collins (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 154–76.

[21] Mayke de Jong, 'Monastic Prisoners or Opting Out? Political Coercion in the Frankish Kingdoms', in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Mayke de Jong and Frans Theuws with Carine van Rhijn (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 291–328.

[22] Karl H. Krüger, 'Königskonversionen im 8. Jahrhundert', *FMST*, 7 (1973), 169–222; *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 855, ed. by Kurze, p. 46. Charles the Bald assumed the abbacy of St-Denis, but only in a lay capacity.

[23] These strictures can be found in contemporary synods including Mainz 847, Pavia 850, and Worms 868. The other key requirements were that penitents went everywhere on foot and that they ate no meat. For discussion, see Leyser, 'Early Medieval Canon Law', esp. pp. 55–59; Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance 900–1050* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), p. 6.

quintessential badges of elite secular status is exactly what we are told Charles the Fat expressed in 873.

Charles's stated intentions at the assembly therefore suggest that he was attempting to perform a kind of public penance.[24] When he said he wished to renounce the world, this was the type of renunciation he meant. His physical behaviour, however, did not conform to the idealized rituals of penance laid out in the authoritative near-contemporary canon and liturgy collections. It was, for example, the wrong time of year, there was no bishop orchestrating the proceedings, the seven penitential psalms were apparently not sung, and so on.[25] Yet the prescriptive nature of such collections holds pitfalls for the historian, imposing false expectations of unified practice.[26] Penance, or penitential behaviour, was communicated as much through body language as it was by observance of liturgically 'correct' ritual.[27] With this in mind, three other models for Charles's outburst come into play. The ultimate historical exemplar of penance as a display of virtuous royal or imperial humility was that of the Roman emperor Theodosius, who performed penance at the behest of Archbishop Ambrose of Milan in 390 to atone for a massacre. This event was much admired by medieval rulers. The text through which Theodosius's penance was best known in the Carolingian Empire was Cassiodorus's 'Tripartite History', which included a translated excerpt from Theodoret of Cyrus's fifth-century account.[28] Theodosius's behaviour in this depiction was very demonstrative: he threw himself to the ground in the church, tearing at his hair, striking himself, and shedding tears while he implored God's forgiveness. Another possible model was the penance of King David, a royal archetype par excellence as far as the Carolingians were concerned, whose role as a model for royal penance was prominent in ninth-century writings on kingship.[29] Caesarius of Arles wrote the description of David's penance which was most influential in the ninth century, and again the markers of his penitential behaviour are demonstrative rather than liturgical/ritual: without even waiting, the King throws

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[24] On which see especially Mayke de Jong, 'What was Public about Public Penance? *Paenitentia Publica* and Justice in the Carolingian World', in *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secoli IX–XI)*, *Settimane*, 44 (1997), 863–902.

[25] For discussion of the canonical and liturgical prescriptions, see Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, pp. 34–38, 104–18. The *Romano-German Pontifical* does, however, require that the penitent lie on the ground groaning and weeping, and states that the ritual is rounded off with a Mass.

[26] Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, pp. 128–35.

[27] Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, p. 113.

[28] *Cassiodori-Epiphanii historia ecclesiastica tripartite* IX.30, ed. by Walther Jacob and Rudolf Hanslik (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1952), pp. 540–46; Rudolf Schieffer, 'Von Mailand nach Canossa: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der christlichen Herrscherbuße von Theodosius d. Gr. bis zu Heinrich IV.', *DA*, 28 (1972), 333–70 (pp. 345–59).

[29] Sarah Hamilton, 'A New Model for Royal Penance? Helgaud of Fleury's *Life of Robert the Pious*', *EME*, 6 (1997), 189–200 (pp. 197–98), discussing Hincmar and Sedulius Scottus.

himself to the ground in sackcloth, loudly bewailing his sins.[30] A third available model was that of the Visigothic monarchy, which has often been seen as a major source of Carolingian political ideas.[31] At least three Visigothic kings abdicated in the seventh century, undergoing public penance as a face-saving ritual of opting out.[32] In Julian of Toledo's *Historia Wambae*, the usurper Paul, upon looking King Wamba in the eye, spontaneously removes his quasi-royal clothing and swordbelt, and prostrates himself on the ground in defeat.[33]

The best-known reference points for royal penance in the Carolingian period therefore contained descriptions of penitential body language which correlate closely with what we are told about Charles's behaviour at the Frankfurt assembly. We need not assume that Charles knew such texts first hand, although that is possible. It is well known that the models of Theodosius and David had been brought firmly and explicitly into the mainstream of Carolingian political discourse by the two famous penances of Louis the Pious, in 822 and 833. The Carolingians' absorption of these ideas focused precisely on the penitents' physical behaviour: in 833, when Louis acted under duress, texts were deployed whose very purpose was to establish the correctness of his penitential body language. In these, Louis is said to have lain down on the floor of the church, loudly and tearfully confessing his crimes, before removing his swordbelt and armour and throwing them on the altar.[34]

It seems likely, therefore, that we should interpret Charles's behaviour at the 873 assembly as neither an epileptic fit nor a symptom of mental instability, nor even as a spontaneous expression of a pious desire to withdraw from the world; but rather as an attempt to make a gesture in the form of a public penance, informed by a contemporary set of political ideas which drew on ancient and venerated models. This reading is supported by a consideration of what public penance signified. As Mayke de Jong has convincingly demonstrated, the 'publicity' of public penance referred not to the number of people who witnessed it, but rather to its correspondence with a certain type of 'public' sin known as *scandalum*.[35] *Scandalum*, defined as 'flagrant

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[30] *Césaire d'Arles, sermons au people*, vol. III, ed. by Marie-José Delage, Sources Chrétiennes, 330 (Paris: Cerf, 1986), p. 110; Mayke de Jong, 'Transformations of Penance', in *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Frans Theuws and Janet L. Nelson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 185–224 (p. 201).

[31] See for example *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique*, ed. by Jacques Fontaine and Christine Pellistrandi (Madrid: Fondation Singer-Polignac, 1992).

[32] De Jong, 'Monastic Prisoners', p. 315.

[33] Mayke de Jong, 'Adding Insult to Injury: Julian of Toledo and his *Historia Wambae*', in *The Visigoths from the Migration Period to the Seventh Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. by Peter Heather (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 373–89 (pp. 380–81).

[34] *Relatio Compendiensis* and *Agobardi Cartula*, ed. by Alfred Boretius and Viktor Krause, MGH CRF, 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1897), pp. 51–57.

[35] See Mayke de Jong, 'Power and Humility in Carolingian Society: The Public Penance of Louis the Pious', *EME*, 1 (1992), 29–52 (pp. 36–39); de Jong, 'What was Public?', pp. 893–901.

violation of the bonds of family and society, leading to public strife and possibly bloodshed', was the principal accusation levelled at Louis the Pious in 833.[36] It was also particularly associated with the security of Carolingian royal succession projects: almost all of the written division plans of the ninth century stated that kings should divide benefices justly, in case an inequitable split led to *scandalum*, in other words civil war or rebellion.[37] This correlates exactly with the situation in which Charles the Fat found himself in early 873. Louis the German had issued just such a division plan in 865, but since 870 there had been extreme tension between the king and his two younger sons, who believed that he was changing his plans to favour the eldest, Karlmann. This had led to two open rebellions. In January 873, the family tensions of the period 870–72 were still seething. Charles was under great pressure. His first cousin had been blinded only a matter of weeks earlier by his father, Charles the Bald, in very similar circumstances: the stakes were already high, and this ratcheted the tension up even higher.[38]

Moreover, public penance in these circumstances was not necessarily a prelude to abdication and entering a monastery. Charles knew that if the penance was seen to be voluntary, there was a chance of forgiveness.[39] A penance such as this was not an act of permanent renunciation, but one of symbolic political submission. It was a plea for forgiveness and an attempt to end a dispute in which the risks had become too extreme. The social logic of such public submissions meant that kings were usually forced to accept them, or risk being criticized as unmerciful and un-Christian. One wonders whether the prince's aim in performing such an act was therefore to force his brother's hand, a strategic and calculated attempt to push him into a similar submission; or rather to monopolize his father's forgiveness, thereby marginalizing his brother. However, the shock of the observers does suggest a genuine spontaneity and moral crisis. Charles feared he had been party to the most heinous of political sins. Perhaps he had put his salvation at risk, and the way to make amends was to do public penance, and to do it voluntarily. We may, it seems, have here a genuine snapshot of the mental state and personality of a prince under extreme pressure, throwing himself desperately on his father's mercy. Memories of Louis the Pious's troubled relationship with his sons, and of the accusations laid against him in 833, hung heavy in the east Frankish air at this time.[40] Little wonder, then, that Charles the Fat reacted to his own moral and political predicament by performing a ritual which paralleled the actions of his grandfather. Taking everything into account, we may therefore explain Charles's attempt to perform public penance not simply by his

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[36] De Jong, 'Power and Humility', p. 37.

[37] De Jong, 'Power and Humility', p. 37.

[38] See Kasten, *Königssöhne*, pp. 524–34. The sources agree that the trigger for his outburst was his rebellion.

[39] De Jong, 'Power and Humility', pp. 38–39; De Jong, 'What Was Public?', pp. 887–89.

[40] *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 874, ed. by Kurze, pp. 81–82.

internalization of ninth-century lessons about Christian behaviour which conflicted with the demands of an elite secular lifestyle, but rather as an appropriate response to political circumstances. He feared his rebellion constituted *scandalum*. His anxiety was political, not sexual.

The Representation of Charles's Behaviour

Charles's behaviour is therefore best interpreted as a kind of penance, or perhaps more precisely a gesture of political submission in the penitential register. Why then do the authors of our sources, who were at least as acquainted with the norms of this sort of performance as was the prince, not explicitly represent the outburst as such? Although the sources describe the basic facts of Charles's behaviour in a recognizably penitential idiom, they conspicuously fail to identify the incident as such. In fact, they seem to represent it almost as a parody of penitential body language. For example, Louis the Pious's 'correct' penance was reportedly confirmed by the bishops laying hands on the Emperor,[41] while in Charles's case the bishops were using their hands to hold him down. One way of explaining this is provided by Gerd Althoff. Althoff's work on political rituals of the tenth to twelfth centuries highlights the role of stage-management and performance at royal assemblies.[42] Such performances were played out and evaluated in accordance with commonly understood unwritten social norms or rules, and were carefully negotiated and arranged in advance. Thus, the sources' reports of contrite rebels submitting to wronged kings by falling at their feet generally follow a set pattern; and despite their *apparent* spontaneity, it can be deduced in most cases that intense negotiation through intermediaries had preceded the event itself.[43] This was a way of saving face all

[41] De Jong, 'Power and Humility', p. 29.

[42] Althoff, *Spielregeln*. I will cite Althoff's work from this book as a whole. The key articles for present purposes are: 'Das Privileg der *Deditio*: Formen gütlicher Konfliktbeendigung in der mittelalterlichen Adelsgesellschaft', pp. 99–125; 'Demonstration und Inszenierung: Spielregeln der Kommunikation in mittelalterlicher Öffentlichkeit', pp. 229–57; 'Empörung, Tränen, Zerknirschung: Emotionen in der öffentlichen Kommunikation des Mittelalters', pp. 258–81. For comments on Althoff's work, see David Warner, 'Thietmar of Merseburg on Rituals of Kingship', *Viator*, 26 (1995), 53–76 (pp. 57–60); Koziol, 'Dangers of Polemic', pp. 381–83; Julia Barrow, 'Review Article: Playing by the Rules: Conflict Management in Tenth and Eleventh-Century Germany', *EME*, 11 (2002), 389–96; Stuart Airlie, 'Talking Heads: Assemblies in Early Medieval Germany', in *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. by Paul S. Barnwell and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 29–46.

[43] Timothy Reuter, 'Assembly Politics in Western Europe from the Eighth Century to the Twelfth', in *The Medieval World*, ed. by Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 432–50 (pp. 439–40).

round, avoiding dangerous accusations being aired in public, and communicating the end of disputes to the political community. However, rules are made to be broken. The corollary of all this is that *actual* spontaneity was potentially dangerous.[44] Charles's desperate attempt to throw himself on his father's mercy seems to have been exactly that, spontaneous, and it thus challenged the expectations of the observers. The feeling of surprise and shock is palpable in all the texts and is quite unlike the language normally used to describe political behaviour, especially at assemblies: Louis the German, we are told, was 'appalled'; the bishops were 'thunderstruck'. Charles's behaviour broke the rules: it was ambiguous, disruptive, transgressive, and shocking. As a 'proper' penance it was all wrong. It was not, therefore, understood as a legitimate ritual in the way that it was meant. Observers could only explain it as a satanic possession.[45]

By contrast, the behaviour at the assembly of his brother and co-rebel Louis the Younger may reveal the script from which Charles so abruptly departed. Louis fell at his father's feet, confessing his sins and begging forgiveness: this conforms exactly to the submission ritual of *deditio* which was used to mark the end of many political rebellions in this period, and indeed examples of which Louis had already undertaken in the 860s.[46] Such rituals, performed after negotiations behind the scenes, communicated the end of disputes, restored hierarchy, saved face, and permitted a negotiated compromise. The line between public penance and this form of secular submission was a fine one.[47] However, Charles's spontaneity and distress meant that his behaviour was misunderstood, while Louis's measured actions meant that his contrition was accepted as legitimate: their comportment sent different messages to the audience. Louis's *deditio* was exactly in keeping with the rhythms of the succession dispute of 870–73, which had been punctuated by a number of such rituals marking

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[44] Althoff, *Spielregeln*, pp. 123–25, 249–50, 256–57; Koziol, 'Dangers of Polemic', pp. 379–80.

[45] Late ninth-century authors seem to have found the memory of Louis the Pious's penance shocking, possibly because of a hardening notion of office and duty: De Jong, 'Power and Humility', pp. 51–52; Nelson, 'Tale of Two Princes', pp. 132–33. Cf. the late ninth-century account of the abdication of Wamba, which had apparently become incomprehensible without reference to coercion: De Jong, 'Adding Insult to Injury', p. 373. On ambiguity and misunderstanding as a feature of rituals, see Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, pp. 307–11.

[46] Althoff, *Spielregeln*, pp. 38, 122 with n. 43; Hartmann, *Ludwig der Deutsche*, p. 73. This is clearest in the *Annals of Xanten*; but the admonition of Louis by his father in the *Annals of Fulda* is also consistent with a *deditio*. On *deditio* in general, see Althoff, *Spielregeln*, pp. 99–125; Timothy Reuter, 'Unruhestiftung, Fehde, Rebellion, Widerstand: Gewalt und Frieden in der Politik der Salierzeit', in *Die Salier und das Reich: Gesellschaftlicher und ideengeschichtlicher Wandel im Reich der Salier*, ed. by Stefan Weinfurter and others (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1992), III, 297–325 (pp. 320–25).

[47] Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, p. 190; see also Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, pp. 177–213; forthcoming work by Rob Meens will illuminate this subject further.

temporary truces between the King and his sons. The pair may thus have planned to once again swear obedience together, or rather, as some of the sources suggest, to attempt a coup during the assembly. Either way, the pressure caused Charles the Fat to jump the gun by improvising a submission which he presumably hoped would bring the whole rebellion to a definitive end and break his brother's obstinacy.

Charles's desperate spontaneity is therefore one reason why his penance was not represented as such. It was wildly out of kilter with the proper comportment of princes at assemblies and had not been planned in advance, as such political submissions usually were. A consensus therefore appears to have formed among the observers that the incident was a display of disruptive and illegitimate power rather than an acceptable ritual of submission. This attitude could only have been strengthened by the fact that all of our authors were bishops, or worked under episcopal patronage, and so would have been disinclined to regard penances which fell outside their jurisdiction as legitimate. These were men who felt deeply about how power should be held and expressed. They may well have realized what Charles was attempting, but his breaking of the 'rules' led them, or allowed them, to consciously misunderstand his intentions and to deny the validity of his actions. In this political culture, at this tense moment, the disruptiveness of his behaviour could only be explained by reference to dark purposes and diabolical influence: that was the only rational conclusion.

This mode of interpretation also allowed our authors to incorporate the incident into their own political agendas.[48] Hincmar wrote his version as a moral tale which contrasted Charles the Fat's extravagant contrition with the persistent filial rebellions of the west Frankish prince Carloman.[49] The *Annals of Fulda*, on the other hand, direct the moral of the story at Louis the Younger, in whose sphere of influence they were being written. In the literary construction of these accounts, Charles's outburst was not recorded for its own sake; rather, his behaviour was used as a mirror to hold up against other members of the royal family. We can see here what Buc aptly refers to as 'contested narratives': our texts are not transparent accounts of the ritual behaviour of the two princes, but rather part of a post-fact debate about this behaviour which began as soon as it had happened. The debaters were clearly influenced by political positions and tailored their interpretations accordingly.

In this case we are fortunate to have a set of accounts which allows us to distinguish the events of the assembly from the interpretations that our authors subsequently placed upon them. We can thus come to some conclusions which are consistent with the sources, taking into account both what is likely to have actually happened and how observers perceived it. To summarize these conclusions so far: Charles tried to perform a submission in the form of a public penance in an attempt

[48] On authorial distortion, see Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, pp. 316–21; Buc, *Dangers of Ritual*; T. Reuter, review of Althoff, *Spielregeln*, in *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute London*, 23 (2001), 40–47.

[49] Nelson, 'Tale of Two Princes'.

to bring his rebellion against his father to an end. He was driven by general feelings of guilt, by fear at having committed the heinous political sin of *scandalum*, and by the intense pressure of contemporary political circumstances, as part of which his cousin had recently been blinded for a very similar rebellion. However, although the sources agree on enough of the basic facts to allow us to argue all this, they represent the prince's outburst not as a legitimate political ritual, but rather as disruptive and diabolically inspired. This was partly because the spontaneity of the outburst was genuinely shocking, out of kilter both with general contemporary expectations about political comportment and with the script which had been written for this assembly in particular. The perception of illegitimacy which followed from this permitted a conscious misunderstanding of Charles's intentions which allowed our authors to make political points about his cousin and brother, which further shaped their representations of him.

Louis the German and the Contest for Memory

Having looked in detail at the events themselves, in the last part of this essay I will turn to look at how contemporaries responded to them, and thus to define the atmosphere in which our sources were written. Here, I want to use Buc's concept of 'contested narratives', the idea that texts have to be regarded as fragments of a post-fact debate about politics rather than a journalistic rendering of events. By using this idea, we can gain further insights into contemporary politics. It must be reiterated that this was a time of extreme political tension. The ongoing rebellion by the two younger sons of Louis the German was not isolated in the east Frankish kingdom, but interacted with father-son conflict and succession disputes west of the Rhine and south of the Alps as well: this was a political chess game in which the stakes were high and the positions were constantly shifting. The big prize was Italy, where Emperor Louis II had no male heirs and was playing the other kings off against each other.[50]

This tension was heightened by the impact of the incident in 873. In Carolingian political thought, disruption in the royal court was seen as having a ripple effect throughout the kingdom, which could even extend to upsetting the natural order. Building on, inter alia, an influential eighth-century tract by an Irish author known as Pseudo-Cyprian, Carolingian authors frequently associated political disorder with divine disfavour, and therefore with famines, floods, and so on.[51] There is a good example of this in the nearest parallel I can find for Charles's behaviour, an account of the demonic possession of a member of Louis II's entourage in 844 in a church in

[50] Nelson, 'Tale of Two Princes', p. 114; Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 226–34.

[51] Rob Meens, 'Politics, Mirrors of Princes and the Bible: Sins, Kings and the Well-Being of the Realm', *EME*, 7 (1998), 345–57.

Rome. Our source, the *Life of Pope Sergius II*, explicitly associates the incident with the onset of famine, devastation, and divine displeasure: it sours the rendering of Louis's coronation, and is clearly a comment on unwelcome Frankish interference in Roman affairs.[52] The same thing can be seen in Charles's outburst: all of our sources clearly highlight the sense of shock and disorder which it provoked. The Xanten annalist goes furthest, associating it implicitly with a devastating plague of locusts which destroyed crops all over Europe later in 873.[53] Charles's behaviour was, as Nelson puts it, a form of 'wild power' which had to be 'tamed'.[54]

In view of this, it was incumbent on Louis the German to try to regain control of the situation. Hostile observers would, and clearly did, interpret the event as evidence of divine disfavour on his court, which would weaken his ability to succeed in the scramble for Italy and perhaps legitimize further rebellions. It is clear from the variations in the annals that the debate about the significance of the event began almost immediately. Contemporary texts also suggest that Charles the Fat's penitential submission had disturbed the ghost of Louis the Pious, whose soul was divinely revealed to be in hell.[55] Louis, as we have seen, did two penances. The first was undertaken at Attigny in 822, to atone for the killing of his nephew; crucially, it was voluntary, and could thus be stage-managed so that it enhanced the Emperor's power, casting him as a new Theodosius, the pious but exalted servant of God. The second was at Soissons in 833, a penance which was forced on him by his rebellious sons and was intended to disqualify him permanently from the throne.[56] Royal penance was therefore open to diametrically opposed interpretations, depending on the political position of the observer. The goal for Louis the German was to try to neutralize the 'wild power' and bad memories which had been disturbed by his son's outburst. He had to remould the disruptive event retrospectively so it become pious, politically safe, and reversible. In other words, he had to turn the memory of his son's outburst from a dangerous Soissons-type penance (or a demonic possession) into an Attigny, from an event which evoked connotations of unkingly behaviour into a voluntary act of good rulership.

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[52] *Le Liber Ponificalis*, ed. by Louis Duchesne, rev. by Cyrille Vogel (Paris: de Boccard, 1955–7), II, 88–89.

[53] On which see David Thornton, 'Locusts in Ireland? A Problem in the Welsh and Frankish Annals', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 31 (1996), 37–53.

[54] Nelson, 'Tale of Two Princes', p. 128.

[55] *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 874, ed. by Kurze, pp. 81–82, shows how the rebellions had reopened debates about Louis the Pious's reputation, which Louis the German responded to by sending letters round the churches of the realm in an attempt to reinforce his view of the matter. *Flodoard von Reims, Historia Remensis ecclesiae* 3.20, ed. by Martina Stratmann, MGH SS, 36 (Hannover: Hahn, 1998), pp. 266–67, says that Hincmar got one of the letters and replied to it, unsurprisingly, at length. The debate over the significance of events in 873–74 was clearly a serious and lively one. See also Dutton, *Politics*, pp. 219–22.

[56] De Jong, 'Power and Humility'.

By close reading of the sources, we can see him working hard to do just that.[57] Firstly, we are told by Hincmar that Louis sent his sons round the shrines of the martyrs: this very much cast him in the role of the penitent rebel. Secondly, the King held a major assembly at the royal estate of Bürstadt, not far from Frankfurt, immediately after Easter 873.[58] Here, he sat as judge over major disputes himself, but left minor ones to his sons Louis and Charles, and also allowed them to receive embassies from foreign kingdoms. This was an exact performance of the terms of the original succession plan of 865, changes to which had been at the root of the sons' rebellion. The intention of this event must have been to publicly restore the status quo ante. It was a staged counter-assembly to that of Frankfurt in January, firmly restating the correct familial order.[59] The fact that it was held straight after Easter reinforced Charles's full resumption of royal and secular status after a period of 'proper' penance: Easter (specifically Maundy Thursday) was the 'correct' time for penitents to be reconciled with the Church and society.[60] Easter also had symbolism as a time of rebirth and renewal in Carolingian court culture.[61] Thirdly, we have the evidence of royal charters. Louis the German involved his sons in the ruling of his kingdom by giving them defined areas to govern as intermediaries and allowing them to subscribe charters which pertained to those areas. The relatively small number of these documents does not allow us to make decisive arguments from their absence. Nevertheless, it is at least suggestive that Charles subscribed no charters between January and Easter 873, even though some were issued which we might otherwise expect him to have been involved with, while Louis the Younger did subscribe one while the political community was still gathered at Frankfurt.[62] It is not beyond the

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[57] That he did so supports my interpretation of Charles's outburst as a political submission: given the turbulence surrounding the succession it would have been in the King's interests to let his youngest son become a monk, had that in fact been Charles's desire.

[58] *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 873, ed. by Kurze, p. 78.

[59] The very act of staging such an assembly in itself represented a considerable political achievement and statement of authority: see Christina Pössel, 'Symbolic Communication and the Negotiation of Power at Carolingian Regnal Assemblies, 814–840' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2004).

[60] Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, pp. 118–21.

[61] Janet L. Nelson, 'Ninth-Century Knighthood: The Evidence of Nithard', in Janet L. Nelson, *The Frankish World, 750–900* (London: Hambledon, 1996), pp. 75–87 (pp. 85–87).

[62] *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen, Karlmanns und Ludwigs des Jüngeren*, ed. by Paul Kehr, MGH Diplomata Karol./D., 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1932–34), no. 144 (Feb. 1, for St-Gall, not subscribed by Charles); no. 145 (Mar. 9, for Prüm, subscribed by Louis the Younger). No. 146 (Apr. 9) was, however, addressed to Charles, though he did not subscribe it. These charters are all we know about Louis the German's activities between January and Easter (Apr. 19). It is also interesting that, addressing Charles in the mid-880s, Notker the Stammerer refers to these charters in exactly the same passage that he alludes to the outburst of 873: Notker, *Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris* II.10, ed. by Hans Haefele, MGH SSrG NS,

bounds of possibility that Louis the German was here making a statement about the contrasting statuses of the two brothers. All this evidence is consistent with the King wishing to have the January event retrospectively interpreted as part of a voluntary and regular penance, recasting his son in the role of the contrite penitent. It was to be interpreted not as a single disruptive event, but rather as the start of a penitential *process* which had a definitive endpoint and resolution with a reconciliation at the proper time, namely Easter.[63]

To support this reading, I would like to bring in one final piece of evidence: the ruler portrait from the manuscript known as the *Ludwigspsalter*.[64] This psalter was made at St-Amand in the second quarter of the ninth century and sent as a gift to Louis the German, after whom it is named. In the third quarter of the century, somewhere in Alsace or Alemannia, three of the codex's blank protective leaves were filled with additions: at the front, extracts from Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*; at the back, in the same hand, a 'Prayer to be said before the cross'; and finally, the ruler image. The man in the picture has no royal insignia, but it is almost certain he is a king, since single-page images of individuals from this period are almost exclusively rulers. Unlike any other image of a king from the period, however, this one is in plain clothes. There have been two main identifications of the king in the picture. The older orthodoxy, which held that the king was Charles the Fat depicted during his deposition in November 887, has been disproved on the grounds of fatal errors in its use of evidence, and its misleading assumptions.[65] Recently, Eric Goldberg has put forward ingenious and convincing arguments that the ruler image and the other additions were inspired by a manuscript of Otfrid of Wissembourg's *Liber evangeliorum*, and that they were made at the Alsatian monastery of Wissembourg, sometime in the later 860s or early 870s. In accordance with this, he makes a strong case that the king depicted is Louis the German and that the image reflects the political ideas of his court. Principal among these were a kind of military asceticism and cult of victory, expressed in part through veneration of the cross and the rejection of fancy clothes.[66]

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12 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1959), pp. 65–67. MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, p. 219 with n. 99 for discussion.

[63] Easter was celebrated at Frankfurt, as had been the assembly in 865 where the now-disputed division plan was proclaimed. There was thus a strong sense of continuity between all these assemblies.

[64] The portrait can be found most conveniently in Eric J. Goldberg, '"More Devoted to the Equipment of Battle than the Splendor of Banquets": Frontier Kingship, Military Ritual, and Early Knighthood at the Court of Louis the German', *Viator*, 30 (1999), 41–78 (p. 69).

[65] Ewald Jammers, 'Die sog. Ludwigpsalter als geschichtliches Dokument', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 103 (1955), 259–71; the critique is in Konrad Bund, *Thronsturz und Herrscherabsetzung im Frühmittelalter* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1979), pp. 547–49.

[66] Goldberg, 'Frontier Kingship', pp. 67–72 with n. 108. The completion of Otfrid's work in the period 863–71 gives a crucial clue to the date; but it is not impossible that the additions were made a short time after Otfrid finished.

These sorts of images, where we can contextualize them, are usually set-pieces, associated with particular events.[67] There are several instances in Louis's reign which could have served as the inspiration, and it is unlikely that there can be absolute certainty on the matter.[68] However, the hypothesis that the additions were connected with the 873 outburst has not been seriously explored, and it is therefore worth putting it forward here, albeit provisionally.[69] Four main points advance this hypothesis. Firstly, the fact that the man is depicted without swordbelt and other regalia fits with Charles's renunciation of such gear in 873. Secondly, a chronological consideration must be taken into account. Drawn images of the cross were not always simple emblems of imperial victory, but could also imply a theophany, a representation of divinity itself.[70] That the cross before which the humble layman abases himself actually carries a figure of Christ may suggest that it was meant to convey more than a sign of victory or triumph, and indeed referred to the True Cross itself. In view of this, it is important to note that the east Frankish court received a relic of the holy cross with great ceremony from Byzantine ambassadors in 872.[71] Thirdly, the added prayer to be said before the cross also seems to fit the circumstances of 873. It is concerned with the rejection of diabolical influence, perhaps of the kind which tempted Charles, and with the renunciation of worldly sins such as covetousness and avarice which were central to the issues at stake in the rebellions of the early 870s. The overall theme of the prayer is the reconciliation of a sinner with Christ, a reconciliation which is to take place through the medium of the wood of the True Cross.[72]

Fourthly and most importantly, a direct connection between the Frankfurt outburst of Charles the Fat and the additions to the *Ludwigspsalter* is provided in the shape of Archbishop Liutbert of Mainz. Liutbert, who became the King's chief adviser in 870, was one of the dedicatees of Otfrid's *Liber evangeliorum*, a manuscript of which influenced the ruler portrait's imagery.[73] From 870, he was also Abbot of Wissembourg, the monastery where the ruler portrait was added to the psalter.[74] Furthermore,

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[67] Cf. Paul Dutton and Herbert Kessler, *The Poetry and Paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

[68] Arguments for 870 are put forward by Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*.

[69] It was tentatively suggested by Bund, *Thronsturz*, p. 549.

[70] Anatole Frolow, 'IC XC NIKA', *Byzantinoslavica*, 17 (1956), 98–113 (pp. 102–3); Leslie Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 154–57.

[71] *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 872, ed. by Kurze, p. 75. There were, however, relics of the cross in east Francia prior to this date, and it is not unlikely that Louis already had a piece.

[72] The text is provided by Jammers, 'Die sog. Ludwigspsalter', pp. 261–62.

[73] Chiara Staiti, 'Das Evangelienbuch Otfrids von Weißenburg und Ludwig der Deutsche', in *Ludwig der Deutsche und seine Zeit*, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004), pp. 233–54.

[74] Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, vol. I: *Grundlegung: Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, MGH Schriften, 16 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1959), pp. 184–85.

Liutbert was identified by Hincmar as being closely involved in ridding Charles of his 'possession' in the church at Frankfurt, by donning his priestly garb and presiding over a Mass. In 887 we meet Liutbert again connected with the east Frankish court's fragment of the cross: perhaps, in his capacity as head of the royal chapel, he was responsible for the relic's custody after its arrival in 872.[75]

Liutbert is thus a key figure linking together the relic of the True Cross which was depicted in the ruler image, the monastery of Wissembourg where the image was made, and the royal assembly at Frankfurt. There is, therefore, at least a circumstantial case for associating this image with the Frankfurt assembly. Space precludes a fuller discussion of this hypothesis and its implications. Questions inevitably remain concerning the specific impetus for the painting's production, as well as its audience. The image could have been 'commissioned' by the King. It need not, however, represent part of a coherent royal ideology any more than did the texts which we have been examining. The initiative could equally have come from the Archbishop, and thus reflected his concerns. The portrait could also be interpreted as a pious response on the part of the artist or his community to the events of 873, rather than a reflection of any political programme.[76] Nevertheless, given the provenance of the manuscript and the relationship between Wissembourg and the court, we must at least admit that the context for the drawing lies somewhere near the political centre, and that in early 873 both King and Archbishop had an interest in reasserting their own authority over the situation.[77] On this basis too, some association with the disrupted royal assembly is plausible. This context complements rather than contradicts Goldberg's discussion about the role of the psalter and the cult of the cross in the political Christianity of Louis's court. However, the prominence of the cross in the image also makes us think again of Easter.[78] We could, therefore, associate this image with the reconciliation phase of the penitential process which Charles undertook. We could interpret the portrait as part of the apparatus for reconciling Charles to his father, for highlighting his restored link to God through the True Cross, and for retrospectively neutralizing

[75] *Annales Fuldenses*, s.a. 887, ed. by Kurze, p. 106.

[76] Cf. Ludger Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade: zu Kontext und Funktion sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der ottonisch-frühsalischen Zeit* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001).

[77] The examples of David and Theodosius were also important in episcopal ideology as kings who obeyed the advice of bishops: Schieffer, 'Von Mailand nach Canossa', pp. 356–57; Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, pp. 174–82.

[78] Maundy Thursday was the day associated with the reconciliation of penitents, while the cross may have been more significant to Good Friday. However, it must be remembered that political statements like this were often to a large degree improvised, and not necessarily internally coherent: Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, pp. 311–16.

the disruptive outburst of January 873, regularizing it as the start of a penitential process which had a definite endpoint with the formal reconciliation at Easter.[79]

Conclusion

This case study allows us to draw conclusions in three areas. First of all, what does all this tell us about Charles the Fat as a man? In my view, much less than has been previously assumed. It is safe to say that, contrary to what is usually said about this incident, he was neither mad nor ill. As Nelson argued, it may show he had internalized the Church's teachings; but his outburst must be seen not simply as a general expression of the internal conflict between the demands of a secular life and the requirements of piety, but also as a response to a particular set of political pressures. These pressures were specific and short term. Charles's attempt to renounce the world should not be seen as the externalization of a peculiarly devout religious sensibility, but rather of a desire to terminate his rebellion with an appropriate gesture or ritual. Nevertheless, later events in Charles's life have made it seem to most observers as if the pious desire for worldly renunciation expressed in 873 continued to be a deep and important part of his personality. Most significant in this context was his divorce in 887, during which he let it be known that he had never had sex with his wife.[80] However, as I have argued elsewhere, this is best understood as a political manoeuvre. He needed to remarry to resolve a succession crisis, and having his marriage annulled by claiming it had never been consummated was the only way to do it.[81] In doing so, of course, Charles may very well have played to memories of the outburst in January 873. Other evidence suggests that he had incorporated the event into the representation of his kingly persona. He nurtured his relationship with the True Cross by continuing his father's custom of using it in the political rituals of the court.[82] Theodosian traces are also detectable. In 885–86 Notker the Stammerer urged Charles to remember that the kingdom could not be governed without the use of arms and the institution of marriage, in the same breath comparing kingly behaviour with that of St Ambrose himself.[83] Again, this must be seen as a rhetorical nod to the events of 873 rather than a reference to continued inner turbulence in the ruler's mind, especially as Notker alluded in the same passage to a charter issued for

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[79] Further research might cast more light on all these issues. The Boethius citations in part concern the problems of age, which is also pertinent to the circumstances of an ageing king facing his rebellious sons.

[80] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 887, ed. by Kurze, p. 127.

[81] MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 169–78.

[82] MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 156–58.

[83] Notker, *Gesta Karoli* II.10, ed. by Haefele, pp. 65–67; cf. the suggestive story of a penitent bishop at I.22, pp. 29–31.

St-Gall in the immediate aftermath of the prince's outburst.[84] Notker's knowing comment and his reference to Ambrose, the orchestrator of the imperial penance of 390, are consistent with the idea that Charles continued to pose himself as a type of Theodosius. In a charter of 880 for the monastery of St-Ambrose in Milan, Charles referred to Ambrose as 'our protector', an unusual term.[85] It may also have been around this time that a new *Life* of Ambrose was written in Milan which ended up in St-Gall, the monastery where Notker lived and with which Charles had extremely close links.[86] A particular interest on Charles's part in the cult of Ambrose, driven by his interest in Theodosius as a penitential emperor, can thus be hypothesized. Nor did he forget that other great penitential ruler of the past, King David. The *Golden Psalter*, a lavishly illustrated book completed at St-Gall, most likely during Charles's reign, explicitly associated the ruler with the image of David.[87] All of these later allusions to the Frankfurt outburst are best understood as Charles making a virtue out of a necessity by memorializing this genuinely traumatic political event from his past. They give us access, therefore, to his constructed political persona rather than to snippets of his ongoing interior monologue. After all, we know that Charles had a son by a concubine in *c*. 875, and that he was back leading military campaigns soon after his outburst.[88] If his motivation in 873 really had been a deep desire to become a monk, then it is clear that within a matter of months he had changed his mind in fairly spectacular fashion.

Secondly, this case study casts further doubt on the traditional view of east Frankish kingship as ideologically rudimentary. Louis the German's response to the incident shows imagination and a deft deployment of rituals. As Goldberg has shown, the speed with which the True Cross was built into court rituals, presumably under Byzantine

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[84] See above, note 62.

[85] *Die Urkunden Karls III.*, ed. by Paul Kehr, MGH Diplomata Karol./D., 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1936–37), no. 21. The phrase was borrowed from the model charter, but decisions about which parts of charters to include or leave out could often be politically significant.

[86] On the *Life*, see Clare Pilsworth, 'Representations of Sanctity in Milan and Ravenna, c.400–c.900' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1998), esp. pp. 23, 64–66. A direct association of the text (or at least the manuscript) with Charles is possible, though space precludes full discussion. For Charles and St-Gall, see MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 201–03, 217, 228.

[87] Christoph Eggenberger, *Psalterium Aureum Sancti Galli: Mittelalterliche Psalterillustration im Kloster St. Gallen* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1987); MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 154, 225–26.

[88] The son's birth date is unknown, but two facts suggest *c*. 875: Notker describes him in diminutive terms in 885–86 in his *Gesta Karoli* II.14, ed. by Haefele, p. 78; but he had presumably reached the age of majority when leading a rebellion in 890–91. For Charles's military and political involvement in 874–75, see *Annales Bertiniani*, s.a. 874, ed. by Grat and others, pp. 196–97; 875, p. 198; Andreas of Bergamo, *Historia*, in *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX*, ed. by Georg Waitz, MGH SRL (Hannover: Hahn, 1878), p. 230.

influence, is impressive.[89] This is not to say that such political rituals always worked, that the audience was convinced by them. Far from it: although Charles seems to have begun acting as the obedient king's son again after Easter 873, Louis the Younger's renewed rebellion the following year shows peace was not fully restored, despite his submission at Frankfurt. Indeed, exalted political ideologies and representations of power were very often concocted in reaction to serious challenges to royal authority. Louis the German's reaction thus underlines what early medieval kingship was all about: creativeness, improvisation, and constant response to crisis.[90]

Because of this need for improvisation, Althoff's 'rules of the game' could not have remained completely clear and distinct: submission rituals like penance and *deditio* could collapse into each other under the right political pressures.[91] This brings us to a final point. It is worth stressing that such incidents need to be examined in their tight political contexts if we are to understand them properly. This case study presents us with a category of sources which Buc has identified as potentially problematic for the historian: namely, multiple descriptions of the same ritual, contested narratives, which he argues prevent us from discovering the real meaning of events. However, where the sources allow it, as they do here, this apparent problem can be turned into an advantage. By examining where the sources agree and where they diverge, we sometimes have the opportunity to go beyond texts to debate what actually happened; but perhaps more importantly we can also learn from the post-fact contest for meaning which our sources constitute. This contest itself can be a fruitful object of historical inquiry, not just to tell us about narratives, but also to help us examine the political circumstances in which such narratives were written.[92] If conscious misunderstanding and miscommunication are the keys to interpreting the events and representation of the 873 assembly, this means that not even the principal actors on the political stage could be sure that their actions would be understood the way they were meant. Meaning was as much in the eye of the beholder as in the intentions of the protagonists. It was in the midst of a whirlwind of competing interpretations that kings like Louis the German had to try to establish their view of events, and to bring the contested past back into the service of their present.[93]

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[89] Goldberg, 'Frontier Kingship'.

[90] This is a central theme of Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*.

[91] As stressed by Warner, 'Thietmar of Merseburg on Rituals of Kingship', esp. p. 58.

[92] The work of David Warner offers further insights here: see for example 'Thietmar of Merseburg on Rituals of Kingship'; 'Henry II at Magdeburg: Kingship, Ritual and the Cult of Saints', *EME*, 3 (1994), 135–66; as does that of Buc (arguing, however, that the insights gained should be restricted to the textual level): in addition to *Dangers of Ritual*, see 'Political Rituals and Political Imagination in the Medieval West from the Fourth Century to the Eleventh', in *The Medieval World*, ed. by Linehan and Nelson, pp. 189–213.

[93] For extremely helpful comments, suggestions, and criticisms, I am very grateful to Mayke de Jong, Eric Goldberg, Sarah Hamilton, Jinty Nelson, Julia Smith, and David Warner, and to the audiences of seminars at the Universities of Leeds, Oxford, and Vienna.

The Representation of Empire: Otto I at Ravenna

DAVID A. WARNER

Initially, the invasion had the look of success. Enemy armies were driven from the field, their cities occupied, their leader deposed. The victors, concerned to define their venture as something other than an exercise in brute force, associated their regime with a programme of reform, based on transcendent principles of justice and virtue. But then, things became more complicated and a gap emerged between their programme and reality. The victors were drawn inexorably into local disputes and rivalries, many pre-dating the invasion. Those who benefited were cheered by the results, but the status quo was altered and new enemies arose among the losers. Even the distinction between enemies and friends became blurred, as local sympathizers began to focus on their own agendas and assume a more ambiguous stance towards their erstwhile allies. Finally, although the victors' programme of reform continued to generate support, efforts to implement it met with a decidedly mixed reaction.

To comprehend such a complex situation, simple bilateral explanations would seem inadequate. Assigning priority to the narrative of the invasion might diminish the importance of more localized trends, for example, but reducing it to a mere episode in the *longue durée* of the region's economic or social history would be equally suspect. Like epidemics and earthquakes, invasions really can make a difference. Transcendent principles can make a difference too, if only because the language in which they are expressed frames and limits debate.[1] And yet, to treat an invasion simply as a battle between competing ideals might mean that we had neglected other, more obviously pragmatic aspects of human behaviour. Clearly, writing history involves making choices and these, in turn, define the stories that historians write. One might argue, however, that the history of our hypothetical invasion need not be recounted as 'a

[1] Maurice Bloch, 'Introduction', in *Political Language and Oratory in Traditional Society*, ed. by Maurice Bloch (London: Academic Press, 1975), pp. 13–20.

one-sided, one directional story invariably privileging one set of voices'.[2] Rather than according privileged status to any one voice or narrative, for example, we might treat this event as the product of multiple narratives, each reflecting the interests of a different informant, but with no one of them accorded privileged status.[3]

Within the realm of historical theory, it has become virtually a commonplace that the past, irrecoverable in any objective sense, can be approached only in terms of the interpretations or representations imposed upon it by the sources.[4] If the validity of this proposition is conceded, one might argue that any attempt to examine how our hypothetical invasion was represented might also benefit from a multivocal approach. If we were to assume, for example, that any analysis of the new regime's programme needed to take into account not only its content but also specific responses to that content, the questions we pose to the evidence might be formulated in a more nuanced fashion.[5] Instead of simply asking how our hypothetical victors sought to represent their regime, we might ask how such representations were received by specific viewers, listeners, or readers, and look for any dissonance between the intended message and its reception.[6] In short, even if one might hesitate to characterize the past as '*nothing* more than an artificially designed text', any attempt to analyse the representational aspects of our hypothetical invasion might benefit if, following literary theorists, we recognized the role that audiences play in determining a text's

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[2] Here, albeit in a more specific context, I cite comments offered by Linda Colley regarding the general topic of imperial history. Linda Colley, 'What Is Imperial History Now?', in *What is History Now?*, ed. by David Cannadine (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 132–47 (p. 138).

[3] Arguments for and against the constructed character of narrative, as an aspect of historical methodology, are discussed by Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 51–56, 67–76, 112–19, 174–78. See also Hayden White, 'The Historical Text as Literary Artifact', in White, *Tropics of Discourse* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1978), pp. 81–100 (pp. 82–85). For an example of a study that attempts to give equal voice to the narratives of victor and vanquished, patriot and collaborator, see Richard Price, *Alabi's World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990). For specific comments regarding Price's methodology, see pp. xi–xii.

[4] See, for example, Robert E. Berkhofer, *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 45–75; and the various essays collected in *A New Philosophy of History*, ed. by Frank Ankersmit and Hans Kellner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

[5] Wolfgang Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), p. 274. My comments here and throughout this essay reflect an admittedly somewhat limited reading in the literature relating to reception theory. Aside from Iser's work, see, for example, Robert C. Holub, *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* (London: Methuen, 1984).

[6] See Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), p. 98.

meaning.[7] For our purposes, however, the text in question might well be a visual image or public act rather than a literary document.

A model, according to one definition, has the benefit of simplifying 'reality in order to emphasize the recurrent, the general, the typical'.[8] This was more or less what I intended to do with the model introduced in the preceding paragraphs. Although sufficiently abstract that it might be applied to any number of invasions, past or present, this model was formulated with specific reference to Emperor Otto I's second and third expeditions to Italy (961–64, 966–72).[9] These unabashedly imperial ventures are commonly cited as milestones in the master narrative of German national history and tend to be included, if only by implication, among the factors determining Germany's peculiar path to modernity.[10] Framed in less expansive terms, one can say, at least, that they marked an important and specific turning point for the Ottonian monarchy.[11] In contrast to his first Italian campaign (951–52), which had left the *regnum Italiae* in the hands of a client king, Berengar II, Otto would henceforth rule this realm directly. Indeed, of the remaining twelve years of his reign (961–73), Otto would spend at least nine in Italy, confronting circumstances comparable to those outlined in the model. Otto I and his successors were greeted with a 'mix of flattery, prejudice, acquiescence, and enmity' but remained outsiders whose influence rested on their ability to negotiate a constantly shifting maze of local powers.[12] Resistance to Ottonian rule persisted and, in turn, incited acts of reprisal from the Emperor and his supporters.[13]

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[7] The quoted phrase is taken from Simon Shama, *Dead Certainties (Unwarranted Speculations)* (New York: Knopf, 1991), p. 322.

[8] Burke, *History and Social Theory*, p. 28.

[9] When examining Otto I's rule in Italy, it is always profitable to examine secondary literature generated by both the German and the Italian scholarly communities. For an overview of the events in question, see Helmut Beumann, *Die Ottonen*, 2nd edn (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1991), pp. 68–71, 83–84, 88–98, 100–04, 108–10; Ovidio Capitani, *Storia dell'Italia medievale*, 3rd 'updated' edn (Rome: Laterza, 1992), pp. 160–78; Rudolf Schieffer, 'Das Italienerlebnis Ottos des Großen', in *Otto der Grosse: Magdeburg und Europa*, ed. by Matthias Puhle, 2 vols (Mainz: von Zabern, 2001), I, 446–60. See also Johannes Laudage, *Otto der Grosse (912–973): Eine Biographie* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 2001), pp. 158–207.

[10] See, for example, Hagen Keller, 'Entscheidungssituationen und Lernprozesse in den "Anfängen der deutschen Geschichte": Die "Italien- und Kaiserpolitik" Ottos des Großen', *FMST*, 33 (1999), 20–48 (p. 24). For a comparable assessment, from the viewpoint of a scholar specializing in Italian medieval history, see Capitani, *Storia dell'Italia*, p. 164.

[11] Eckhard Müller-Mertens, 'The Ottonians as Kings and Emperors', in *NCMH*, III, 233–66 (pp. 250–54).

[12] Walter Pohl, 'Invasions and Ethnic Identity', in *Italy in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Cristina La Rocca (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 11–33 (pp. 32–33).

[13] With regard to Otto I, in particular, see Gerhard Graf, *Die weltlichen Widerstände in Reichsitalien gegen die Herrschaft der Ottonen und der ersten beiden Salier (951–1056)*, Erlanger Abhandlungen zur mitteleren und neueren Geschichte, 24 (Erlangen: Palm und Enke, 1936), pp. 9–16, 52–60.

Otto's *imperium* also included a representational element, in the form of a *Herrschaftsprogramm*, through which the Emperor or his supporters attempted to explain what the new regime was all about.[14] This programme was associated with Otto's coronation as emperor in 962, but also and more generally with the imperial traditions of his Roman, Byzantine, and Carolingian predecessors.

Although concerned, in general, with Otto I's imperial programme, this essay focuses on a specific event in the corporate life of the Italian city of Ravenna, a community long associated with royal and imperial government, the seat of an archbishopric, and the nexus of a deeply conflicted political landscape. The event in question, an assembly presided over by Emperor Otto I (936–73), took place in a palace complex newly constructed for the Emperor's use and attracted a glittering array of churchmen and magnates.[15] In short, Otto's assembly would seem typical of those occasions upon which, according to the common wisdom, Ottonian emperors were accustomed to celebrate their imperial *Herrschaftsprogramme*. What I hope to suggest is the value of applying a multilateral, multivocal approach to this and perhaps other, similar occasions. Such an approach would constitute something of a change. Insofar as the scholarly status quo is concerned, it is still common practice to discuss the representation of Otto's *imperium* within the parameters laid out by Percy Ernst Schramm, that is, under the assumption that Otto's 'renewal of the emperorship opened a new epoch in which antique signs of majesty and images, honorifics and titles, symbols and theories were transferred to the western emperor'.[16] One tends to speak in terms of coherent programmes, formulated and propagated by the court, but preserved for posterity in a select group of literary, visual, and documentary sources. If it is assumed, a priori, that Otto I and his successors would have actively encouraged the formulation, propagation, and preservation of ideas favourable to their imperial regime, it becomes that much easier to assume that such images and ideas, whenever they occur, originated with the Ottonian court. But is it really this simple?

In recent years, at least some aspects of Schramm's approach have been subjected to closer scrutiny and criticism.[17] Questions have been raised, for example, regarding

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[14] On this use of the term 'representation', see Timothy Reuter, '*Regemque, quem in Francia pene perdidit, in patria magnifice recepit*: Ottonian Ruler-Representation in Synchronic and Diachronic Comparison', in *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, ed. by Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert, Vorträge und Forschungen, 46 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1998), pp. 363–80 (pp. 363–64).

[15] See below, note 64.

[16] Percy E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio: Studien und Texte zur Geschichte des römischen Erneurungsgedankens vom Ende des karolingischen Reiches bis zum Investiturstreit* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929; repr., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992), p. 79.

[17] On the following see, in general, David A. Warner, 'Ideals and Action in the Reign of Otto III', *JMH*, 25 (1999), 1–18 (especially pp. 5–8).

the consistent linkage of such disparate types of evidence to the court. If the case seems fairly straightforward for imperial diplomata or coronation *ordines*, can one say the same for a ruler-portrait painted by an anonymous artist in a monastic atelier? Should such portraits be read as an indication of what Ottonian rulers thought of themselves, or rather what monastic communities or even individual clerics believed they ought to think?[18] Must authors who write about the deeds of kings be seen ipso facto as agents of the court, or should their personal and corporate agendas be weighted more heavily, as the decisive *causa scribendi*?[19] Can their accounts of coronations and other rituals of rulership be taken as written, or must they be treated as part of a narrative strategy with relevance chiefly for the text in which they appear?[20] One recent study, noting the absence of direct and verifiable links between the court and the literary and visual evidence typically employed in discussions of Ottonian *Herrschaftsprogramme*, has concluded that this evidence had nothing at all to do with politics, much less any court-inspired political agenda.[21] It might be argued that this conclusion rests on foundations that are equally debatable, but the point is well taken that neither the existence of a court-inspired programme nor the latter's influence on artists and writers can simply be assumed.[22]

In itself, the idea of empire appears to have had a malleable quality that lent itself to adaptation and change. 'Rather than being linear', so James Muldoon has argued, it was comprised of 'a series of interrelated layers, like geological strata'.[23] Although a given stratum might appear dominant, even momentary shifts and upheavals in the political landscape could bring other strata to the surface. For Ottonian monarchs shifts and upheavals represented a normal, if not necessarily welcome, fact of political life. One would assume, therefore, that whatever Ottonian emperors believed about the character of their empire, it must have been subject to change and evolution. Furthermore, even if one concedes that some part of the evidence reflects the

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[18] Cf. Steffen Patzold, '*Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit*: Zum Herrscherbild im Aachener Otto-Evangeliar', *FMST*, 35 (2001), 243–72 (p. 272).

[19] On this much discusssed question, see, most recently, Gerd Althoff, 'Otto der Große in der ottonischen Geschichtsschreibung', in *Otto der Große*, ed. by Puhle, I, 16–27 (pp. 21, 29).

[20] That such accounts cannot be considered accurate and, moreover, that the importance of ritual itself has been distorted by modern scholarship has been the chief arguing point of Philippe Buc. See, above all, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 4 and passim. Buc's views have not gone unchallenged, however. See, for example, Geoffrey Koziol, 'Review Article: The Dangers of Ritual: Is Ritual Still an Interesting Topic of Historical Study', *EME*, 11 (2002) 367–88.

[21] Ludger Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade: Zu Kontext und Funktion sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der ottonisch-frühsalischen Zeit* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001), p. 278 and passim.

[22] See my review of Körntgen's book, on-line, in *The Medieval Review* 03. 09. 02.

[23] James Muldoon, *Empire and Order: The Concept of Empire, 800–1800* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1999), p. 30.

inspiration of the Ottonian court, one would have to question whether this inspiration should be seen as a programme or policy comparable to those of modern states. As typically defined, the modern state is said to consist of a confluence of monopolies expressed through formal, centralized institutions.[24] Such characteristics could scarcely be applied to the Ottonian state, but even in comparison to its Carolingian predecessor or to monarchies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Ottonian government is thought to have been less formal, less routinized, and less intense in its impact.[25] Ottonian government rested on overlapping networks of personal relationships, reinforced by bonds of blood or spiritual kinship, oaths, or corporate affinities.[26] A relationship with the king might figure within such networks as well, but it would not have necessarily transcended or taken precedence over any other relationship. Ottonian monarchs, unable to consistently command or coerce, had neither the means nor perhaps even the desire to govern without the consent and collaboration of their secular and spiritual magnates. They also lacked any central mechanism for representing themselves to the realm. The Ottonian court, presumed point of origin for royal *Herrschaftsprogramme*, may have endowed the political community with a visual presence through its periodic assemblies, but this presence evaporated as soon as magnates, high churchmen, and the royal entourage went their separate ways.[27]

Given the limited scope and aims of Ottonian government, crisp dichotomies between royal order and aristocratic anarchy would seem a less than adequate basis for any narrative of Ottonian political life. Ranke's confident assertion that the ruler's fundamental task was to eliminate aristocratic independence now seems not only simplistic but wholly anachronistic.[28] One might say the same for any attempt to

[24] See, for example, Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Power Elites, State Servants, Ruling Classes and the Growth of State Power', in *Power Elites and State Building*, ed. by W. Reinhard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 1–18 (p. 1).

[25] The classic study of the Ottonian state remains Karl J. Leyser, 'Ottonian Government', in Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours, 900–1200* (London: Hambledon, 1982), pp. 69–101.

[26] For a classic formulation of the so-called *Personenverbandstaat*, see Theodor Mayer, 'Die Ausbildung der Grundlagen des modernen deutschen Staates im hohen Mittelalter', in *Herrschaft und Staat im Mittelalter*, ed. by Hellmut Kämpf, Wege der Forschung, 2 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1956), pp. 284–331 (p. 289). In his highly influential studies of Ottonian rulership, Gerd Althoff has built and expanded upon Mayer's fundamental concept. See, for example, *Verwandte Freunde und Getreue: Zur politischen Stellenwert der Gruppenbindungen im früheren Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), pp. 5–8.

[27] Cf. Timothy Reuter, 'Assembly Politics in Western Europe from the Eighth Century to the Twelfth', in *The Medieval World*, ed. by Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 432–50. The informal character of the court is emphasized by Laudage, *Otto der Grose*, pp. 245–46.

[28] Leopold von Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, 4th edn, vol. VI (Munich: Duncker and Humbolt, 1921), pp. 82, 88.

include Ottonian government within the standard, evolutionary narrative of European state-formation.[29] Perhaps, it is time to examine the residual impact of this state-centred viewpoint on our understanding of Ottonian *Herrschaftsprogramme*. One might argue that the formality and coherence implied by terms such as programme and policy would seem inconsistent with a form of statecraft that, to all appearances, was dynamic, reactive, and driven by the constant need to respond to crises.[30] Thus, rather than being the product of a coherent policy-making procedure, Otto I's decision to assume direct rule over the *regnum Italiae* seems to have evolved over time, by trial and error, under the impetus of forces beyond his control.[31] These forces included rivalry with a local magnate-cum-king, Berengar II; the shifting loyalties and uncertain stability of the papacy; and the machinations of two members of his own family, Duke Liudolf of Swabia and Duke Henry of Bavaria, who, in effect, pursued their own, independent Italian policies. In imagining efforts to define and represent the Ottonian *imperium* as part of a consistent programme, we may have imposed a static structure on something that was multifaceted, inherently dynamic, and subject to continual revision. If, however, we adopt the multivocal approach outlined in the initial paragraphs of this essay, which is to say if we treat Otto's *imperium* as the product of multiple narratives and not simply from the viewpoint of the victors, we may find some middle ground between the traditional top-down approach to Otto I's imperial *Herrschaftsprogramm* and a radically sceptical viewpoint that would bring its very existence into question.

When it came to representing their *imperium* in Italy, the Ottonians faced a dilemma that, for the sake of efficiency, we may define by reference to a common rallying cry of modern political activists: 'Think globally, act locally.' When the Ottonians and their supporters thought about empire, they did so in global or universal terms. When rulers acted imperially, they did so within a local context, before an audience whose appreciation for the universal ideals of empire was balanced by interests of a more parochial, partisan, or self-interested character. 'Representation,' to quote Timothy Reuter, implies 'the independent existence of something to be represented [. . . and] cannot be sustained without real substance behind it.'[32] It is at the

[29] Here, I refer to a construct chiefly favoured by nineteenth-century historians (but also evident in more recent literature) that identifies the birth of the modern state as the goal of all historical development and views the state's evolution as history's common thread. The literature relevant to this topic is extensive. See, for example, Harry Liebersohn, 'German Historical Writing from Ranke to Weber: The Primacy of Politics', in *A Companion to Western Historical Thought*, ed. by Lloyd Kramer and Sarah Maza (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 166–84 (pp. 167–70); Stefan Berger, Mark Donovan, and Ken Passmore, 'Apologies for the Nation-State in Western Europe since 1800', in *Writing National History*, ed. by Stefan Berger and others (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 3–14 (pp. 10–11).

[30] Laudage, *Otto der Grosse*, p. 236.

[31] Keller, 'Entscheidungssituationen', pp. 39–41.

[32] Reuter, '*Regemque*', p. 363.

juncture where universal thoughts and local actions met that judgements regarding the substance of rulership were mostly likely to be made. More to the point, it is at this juncture that the narrative of empire encountered a multitude of alternative, even competing narratives. In the following analysis, I assume that the principles of Otto I's *Herrschaftsprogramm* were sufficiently familiar to members of the political and intellectual elite that they could respond to and interpret them even without prompting from the court. This simple shift in perspective still allows for the kind of court-generated *Herrschaftsprogramm* proposed by Schramm, but does not require that every representation of rulership be associated with it. This approach, by assuming a more fluid exchange of ideas, also allows us to redirect our point of inquiry. Rather than attempting to discern the outlines of some court orthodoxy, we can address a more manageable question: how were ideas of empire represented and interpreted by and for specific audiences in specific contexts.

Rulership and Representation in the regnum Italiae

Between the death of King Louis II in 875 and Otto I's imperial coronation in 962, the locus of power in the *regnum Italiae* had shifted from the monarchy to the bishoprics, aristocratic houses, urban communes, and other increasingly autonomous local entities.[33] The public power of the state had disintegrated and 'central government was replaced by a pullulation of little powers'.[34] Although superior military force might allow Otto and his successors to master any specific situation, the polycentric and heterogeneous character of Italy's political structure ensured that their dominion was episodic at best and their capacity to do more than slow the progressive decline of the political centre, had they found this desirable, virtually nonexistent.[35] Nevertheless, they could still dispose of a substantial base of royal property and income and could draw, albeit with varying degrees of success, on a body of supporters among the ecclesiastical and secular aristocracy.[36] To rule the *regnum Italiae*, as Müller-Mertens has observed, the Ottonians 'employed a policy of exploiting aristocratic conflicts of interest, or preserving the balance of power between margraves, counts and bishops, of encouraging the development of new smaller

[33] Giovanni Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy: Structures of Political Rule*, trans. by Rosalind B. Jensen. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 152–66; Chris Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society, 400–1000* (London: Macmillan, 1981), pp. 172–93.

[34] Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, p. 168.

[35] Giovanni Tabacco, 'Regno, impero e aristocrazie nell'Italia Postcarolingia', in *Il secolo di ferro: mito et realtà del secolo X*, Settimane, 38 (1991), pp. 243–69 (p. 265).

[36] Paolo Cammarosano, *Storia del'Italia medievale, dal VI all'XI secolo* (Rome: Laterza, 2001), p. 220.

margravates and of granting privileges to the bishoprics'.[37] It was a policy, we might add, held together by patronage and bribery, by resources distributed and redistributed among the magnates, both secular and ecclesiastical, and bestowed upon religious corporations of all sorts.[38] Whether or not we agree with Müller-Mertens that this policy succeeded in stabilizing Ottonian rule, it is clear that it was based on a certain internal tension. If those who benefited from the emperor's generosity were likely to serve him more promptly (to paraphrase a commonplace of Ottonian diplomata), even the most loyal of supporters kept their own interests in mind and scarcely hesitated to exploit the Ottonian presence for their own benefit.[39] Those interests may well have extended to their own personal safety. Although the emperor's favour could tip the balance in the relentless struggle for leadership and resources that characterized Italian politics, it was not without an element of risk. When the emperor's protecting hand was absent, Ottonian loyalists could pay a heavy price. As a particularly egregious case in point, we might cite the physical mutilation inflicted by Otto I's opponents on Cardinal Deacon John and Azo the scriniarius, the two clerics who had offered the imperial crown to Otto and solicited his aid against Berengar II, thereby providing both an incentive and a justification for the German ruler's return to Italy.[40]

The complexity evident in the mechanics of Ottonian government also extended to its representational aspects. This can be seen with particular clarity in the various accounts of and reactions to Otto's imperial coronation on 2 February 962. Adalbert of Magdeburg says that Otto came to Rome where he 'was favourably received with the acclamation of all the Roman People and clergy, and was called and consecrated emperor and augustus by Pope John [XII]'.[41] Liudprand of Cremona states, cryptically, that Otto was 'received with marvellous pomp and a new ceremonial', and that he

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[37] Müller-Mertens, 'Ottonians as Kings and Emperors', p. 251. See also Giuseppe Sergi, 'Vescovi, monasterii, aristocrazia militare', in *Storia d'Italia Annali*, vol. IX. ed. by Giorgio Chittolini and Giovanni Miccoli (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1986), pp. 75–98 (pp. 84–85).

[38] Heinrich Dormeir, *Die ottonischen Kaiser und die Bischöfe im regnum Italiae*, Antrittsvorlesung an der Universität Kiel, 11 June 1997 (Kiel: Rektorat der Universität Kiel Informations- und Pressestelle, 1997), p. 11.

[39] See, for example, the case of the Bishops of Vercelli, as discussed by Germana Gandino, 'Orizzonti politici ed esperienze culturali dei vescovi di Vercelli tra i secoli IX e XI', in *Vercelli tra Oriente ed Occidente tra tarda antichità e medioevo*, ed. by Vittoria Dolcettti Corazza (Alessandria: dell'Graso, 1998), pp. 13–33 (esp. p. 14); Heinrich Dormeier, 'Kaiser und Bischofsherrschaft: Leo von Vercelli', in *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*, 2 vols, ed. by Michael Brandt and Arne Eggebrecht (Mainz: von Zabern, 1993), I, 103–12 (p. 108).

[40] Graf, *Die weltlichen Widerstände*, no. 15, pp. 12–13.

[41] Adalbert, *Continuatio Reginonis (an. 907–967)*, s.a. 962 = Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, ed. by Friedrich Kurze, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 50 (Hannover: Hahn, 1890), p. 171. Henceforth, this text will be abbreviated as Adalbert, *Cont. Reg*.

was anointed as emperor by the Pope.[42] To these two, relatively brief, accounts we might add the fuller testimony of a nearly contemporary 'Roman' coronation *ordo* that is commonly, if somewhat tentatively, associated with Otto's coronation.[43] From its commencement, with an oath to God and St Peter, through the rite of anointment administered before St Peter's relics, to the ritual's finale, the Pope's bestowal of the imperial crown at the basilica's high altar, the *ordo* reads like a virtual treatise on the authority and obligations of the imperial office, but with particular emphasis on the Emperor's duty to protect and support the Roman church. In the days following the coronation, Otto participated in other events which, effectively, continued the verbal and visual commentary relative to the new regime. Pope and Emperor jointly presided over a synod that took up Otto's plan to create a new archbishopric with its seat at Magdeburg.[44] Aside from its specific statements regarding Magdeburg, the document generated by this meeting emphasizes a number of imperial ideas, by associating Otto's coronation with his military success, especially over the Hungarians, his defence of the Church, and his concern to secure the Christian faith among the recently converted Slavs.[45] For his own part, Otto issued the so-called *Ottonianum*, in which he confirmed his Carolingian predecessors' territorial grants to the papacy and regulated the papal election procedure.[46] Around the same time, responding to complaints from the Italian aristocracy regarding widespread resort to false documents and perjury in property disputes, Otto I undertook to reform Italian

[42] 'Ubi miro ornatu novoque apparatu susceptus, ab eodem summo pontifice et universali papa Iohanne unctionem suscepit imperii': *Historia Ottonis* c. 3 = *Liudprandi Cremonensis opera omnia*, ed. by Paulo Chiesa, CCCM, 156 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), p. 170.

[43] *Die Ordines für die Weihe und Krönung des Kaisers und der Kaiserin*, ed. by Reinhard Elze, MGH FRG, 9 (Hannover: Hahn, 1960), Ordo 1, pp. 1–3. The literature concerning this ordo and the imperial coronation is extensive. Among the more recent treatments, see Hagen Keller, 'Die Kaiserkrönung Ottos des Großen: Voraussetzungen, Ereignisse, Folgen', in *Otto der Große*, ed. by Puhle, I, 461–86 (pp. 463, 469).

[44] 12 Febuary 962. *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Heinrich I. und Otto I. 919–973*, ed. by Johann Friedrich Böhmer and Emil von Ottenthal, vol. II.1 of *Regesta imperii* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1893; repr. with supplements by Hans H. Kaminsky, Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), no. 310, p. 151 (hereafter abbreviated as BO with entry number only).

[45] *Papsturkunden 896–1046*, ed. by Harald Zimmermann, 2 vols, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission, 3 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984–89), I, no. 154, pp. 281–84 (hereafter abbeviated as Zimmermann with volume and number only).

[46] 13 February 962; BO 311. For the text of this document, see *Die Urkunden Konrad I. Heinrich I. und Otto I*, ed. by Theodor Sickel, MGH Diplomata König, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1879–84; repr., Munich: MGH, 1980), no. 235, pp. 322–27. Henceforth, diplomata issued by Otto I will cited as DO I with the number in the edition by the MGH only (e.g. DO I 235).

legal custom by introducing trial by combat.[47] Thus the image of the Emperor as defender of the Church was joined by that of the Emperor as law-giver. Finally, Otto also began to employ a new seal for his diplomata, one that visually emphasized his imperial character and included the inscription *Otto Imperator Augustus*.[48]

The verbal and visual texts discussed in the preceding paragraph do not tell us what really happened at Otto's coronation or during the events that followed; rather they represent the impressions, expectations, and intentions of the parties that generated them. In effect, they constitute the visible milestones of an interpretive process, a narrative that these parties may have begun to construct even as the events themselves took place. There is no compelling reason to confer priority on this narrative, especially given the existence of alternatives. Within a year, for example, the monarch would find himself betrayed by the very pope who crowned him and soon faced an uprising by the Roman populace that had once greeted him so enthusiastically. For Adalbert and Liudprand, beneficiaries of Otto's largesse, unabashed apologists for his regime, but also our chief sources for these events, the shifting alliances of the papacy and Roman populace figure in a larger narrative of corruption and treachery in the face of Otto's just rule. Recent studies have cast doubt on the more subjective aspects of this interpretation, corruption and treachery being very much a matter of opinion.[49] They have also suggested the value of viewing these events as part of an alternative narrative, represented by a deep-seated and enduring struggle for leadership with its locus among the noble families and factions of Rome rather than at the imperial court.[50] To follow Adalbert, Liudprand, and

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[47] *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum 911–1197*, ed. by Ludwig Weiland, MGH Constitutiones, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1893; repr., Munich: MGH, 1963), no. 13, pp. 27–30. Although the capitulary was issued in 967, it notes that representatives of the Italian nobility first approached Otto about this issue following his imperial coronation. That Italian lawyers criticized Otto's introduction of the judicial duel as 'bad law' would tend to reinforce the impression that Otto's *Herrschaftsprogramm* was viewed with ambivalence in Italy. See Chris Wickham, 'Lawyers' Time: History and Memory in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Italy', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis*, ed. by Henry Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), pp. 53–71 (p. 64).

[48] Hagen Keller, 'Das neue Bild des Herrschers: Zum Wandel der "Herrschaftspräsentation" unter Otto dem Grossen', in *Ottonische Neuanfänge: Symposion zur Austellung 'Otto der Grosse, Magdeburg und Europa'*, ed. by Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter (Mainz: von Zabern, 2001), pp. 189–211 (pp. 190–91).

[49] On Liudprand, in particular, see Buc, *Dangers of Ritual*, pp. 15–50.

[50] Chris Wickham, 'The Romans According to their Malign Custom: Rome in Italy in the late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. by Julia M. H. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 151–67. See also T. S. Brown, 'Urban Violence in Early Medieval Italy: The Cases of Rome and Ravenna', in *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, ed. by Guy Halsall (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), pp. 76–89 (pp. 78–82).

other sources generated by or sympathetic to the Ottonian *imperium* would mean that we had privileged the narrative of Otto's invasion over this equally compelling narrative of indigenous politics. It would also mean that we had favoured the positive version of the invasion narrative over a very forceful, negative one represented, for example, by Benedict of St Andrew's (or Monte Soratte) who argued that Otto's presence had not brought glory to Rome so much as disgrace and poverty.[51] One should add that, even north of the Alps, contemporary opinion appears to have been less than fully supportive of Otto's Italian venture. In a work compiled *c*. 973, the author of the older of two extant biographies of Otto's mother, Queen Mathilda, complained that the Emperor's 'whole life would have deserved praise, if only he could have refused a crown offered to him amidst military turmoil rather than through legitimate means'.[52] If considered in tandem and assigned comparable weight, these divergent voices would suggest that, on all sides, Otto's imperial *Herrschaftsprogramm* was the object of profound ambiguity or, at least, that a simple bilateral division between opponents and supporters of that programme would constitute a less than effective analytical approach.

To study the implications of a multilateral, multivocal approach to Otto I's imperial *Herrschaftsprogramm*, one could scarcely ask for a better observation point than the city of Ravenna. Ravenna was ripe with imperial associations and symbolic potential. It had been the administrative centre of the Byzantine exarchs.[53] Although the exarchate had come to an end with the Lombard conquest in 751, the memory of its existence and of its territorial expanse was still vital in the Ottonian era. Theodoric the Ostrogoth chose Ravenna as the site of his tomb and one of his palaces, a structure originally constructed by Emperor Honorius and possibly modelled after

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[51] *Il Chronicon di Benedetto monaco di S. Andrea del Soratte e il Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma*, ed. by Giuseppe Zuchetti, Fonti per la storia Italiano (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1920), p. 186.

[52] *Vitae Mathildis reginae antiquior*, c. 15 = *Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde*, ed. by Bernd Schütte, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 66 (Hannover: Hahn, 1994), p. 139. For my translation, I have relied on Sean Gilsdorf's recent translation of the entire biography. See *Queenship and Sanctity: The Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid*, trans. by Sean Gilsdorf (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 2004), pp. 86–87.

[53] On all questions relating to the history of Ravenna, one should consult the various studies included in *Storia di Ravenna*, ed. by G. Susini and others, 3 vols (Ravenna: Marsilio, 1990–93). Still worth consulting is the older study by G. Buzzi, 'Ricerche per la storia di Ravenna e di Roma dall'850 al 1118', *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 38 (1915), 107–213. On Ravenna prior to the advent of the Ottonians, see, in particular, T. S. Brown, 'Byzantine Italy, c.680–c.876', in *NCMH*, II, 320–48 (pp. 333–38); and the articles collected in *Storia di Ravenna*, ed. by Susini and others, II.2 (1992). See also Ingrid Heidrich, *Ravenna unter Erzbischof Wibert (1073–1100): Untersuchungen zur Stellung des Erzbischofs und Gegenpapstes Clemens III. in seiner Metropole*, Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband, 32 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1984), pp. 21–34.

the imperial palace at Constantinople.[54] That Charlemagne sought spolia from this palace for reuse at Aachen may well suggest that Theodoric's memory had endowed this structure with a significance transcending the quality of its workmanship.[55] In any case, the Ostrogothic king's weighty presence at Ravenna has moved modern commentators to characterize that city as the capital of the Gothic kingdom and delegated seat of imperial power.[56] The Carolingians visited Ravenna, as did Guy (or Wido) of Spoleto (888–94, emperor 891) and other so-called Italian emperors. Lambert, Guy's co-ruler, was crowned emperor at Ravenna by Pope Formosus (891–96).[57] Still, there was also another side to Ravenna's history, a side that had less to do with the city's imperial past than with its aggressive sense of local identity and internal struggles for power.[58] At least some of the turmoil produced by these characteristics constituted a response to the influence of outsiders, especially those who attempted to impose their will on the city or manipulate its institutions. At one time or another, Byzantine Emperors, exarchs, and rulers of neighbouring states were each the focus of local antagonism. In terms of the virulence and longevity of the hatred they inspired, however, none of these could compete with the papacy.

By the time Otto I appeared in Italy, the feud that inspired hatred between the popes and the Archbishops of Ravenna was already several centuries old.[59] Its milestones included the archbishops' short-lived acquisition of autocephalic status, a privilege that, among other things, freed them from the obligation to seek consecration from the pope. Although it had already been rescinded by the end of the seventh century, the memory of this privilege lived on and engendered local yearnings for independence. Of longer duration was the competition between the papacy and the archbishops for control of the former territories of the exarchate and especially of that part known as Pentapolis, a territory south of Ravenna encompassing the cities of Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Senigallia, and Ancona.[60] This struggle had its origins in

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[54] Carlrichard Brühl, 'Königs-, Bischofs-, und Stadtpfalz in den Städten des "regnum Italiae" vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert', in Brühl, *Aus Mittelalter und Diplomatik: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 3 vols (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1989–97), I, 32–51 (pp. 36–37); John Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 41–42.

[55] On this frequently noted act of architectural borrowing, see, for example, Paolo Verzone, 'La distruzione dei palazzi imperiali di Roma e di Ravenna e la ristrutturazione del palazzo Lateranense nel IX secolo nei rapporti con quello di Costantinopoli', in *Roma e l'età Carolingia* (Rome: Multigrafica Editrice, 1976), pp. 39–54 (p. 40).

[56] Cristina La Rocca, 'Perceptions on an Early Medieval Urban Landscape', in *The Medieval World*, ed. by Peter Linehan and Janet Nelson (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 416–31 (p. 424).

[57] Heidrich, *Ravenna*, p. 31.

[58] Brown, 'Urban Violence', pp. 82–86.

[59] In general, see Raffaele Savigni, 'I papi e Ravenna dalla caduta dell' Esarcato alla fine del secolo X', in *Storia di Ravenna*, ed. by Susini and others, II.2, 331–68 (pp. 331–58).

[60] On the following see Gina Fasoli, 'Il dominio territoriale degli archivescovi di Ravenna fra l'VIII e l'XI secolo,' in *I poteri temporali dei vescovi in Italia e in Germania nel Medioevo*,

the efforts of the Archbishops of Ravenna to create a territorial principality comparable to that of the popes, a principality that would have exceeded the boundaries of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The papacy's alliance with the Frankish monarchy ensured that appeals to powerful patrons would figure among the chief strategies of both parties. That Ottonian monarchs would figure among these patrons, one might argue, was virtually inevitable. The *Ottonianum*, for example, a document that celebrated Otto's role as defender of the Roman Church, also included a promise to restore to the papacy both the exarchate, with its capital of Ravenna, and the Pentapolis.[61] That the territories in question could not be transferred immediately (as they were still occupied by Berengar II's son, Adalbert) scarcely diminishes the threat to Ravenna's interests. Finally, we might note, as many others have, that antagonism towards Rome suffuses the work of Ravenna's major literary figure, Agnellus, author of a history of the city's archbishops.[62] In their relations with Ravenna, the Ottonians clearly figured among the outsiders.[63] And, it is against both Ravenna's imperial past and its potential for antagonism towards outsiders that we must place Ottonian efforts to project their *imperium*.

Otto I at Ravenna (17 April 967)

Although Otto I may have briefly visited Ravenna in 962 and 963, it was only in 967 that he established a more substantial presence there. By 967, he had built a palace near the monastery of St Severo, a no longer extant structure, in the suburb of Classe.[64]

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ed. by Carolo Guido Mor and Heinrich Schmideinger, Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico, Quaderno, 3 (Bologna: Il Molino, 1979), pp. 87–140 (pp. 87–110).

[61] See above, note 46.

[62] Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, in *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SRL (Hannover: Hahn, 1878), pp. 265–391. See Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, 'Agnellus of Ravenna and Iconoclasm: Theology and Politics in a Ninth-Century Historical Text', *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 559–76 (pp. 565–66); also Joaquin M. Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna: The Liber pontificalis of Andreas Agnellus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), pp. 10–15.

[63] In general, see Harald Zimmermann, 'Nella tradizione di città capitale: presenza Germanica e società locale dall'età Sassone a quella Sueva', in *Storia di Ravenna*, ed. by Susini and others, III (1993), 107–28 (pp. 108–16). See also Augusto Torre, 'Ravenna e l'Impero', in *Renovatio Imperii* (Faenza: Lega, 1963), pp. 5–13; and Heidrich, *Ravenna*, pp. 34–39. Older, but still worth consulting, is the series of studies by Mathilda Uhlirz. See, for example, 'Die Restitution des Exarchates Ravenna durch die Ottonen', *MIÖG*, 50 (1936), 1–34.

[64] On the church of St Severo and its monastic community, see Raffaella Farioli, 'Due antichi edifici di culto ancora da rintracciare nel territorio di Classe; la basilica Probi e la chiesa di S. Severo', in *Studi storici, topografici, ed archeologici sul 'Portus Augusti' di Ravenna e sul territorio Classicano* (Faenza: Blega, 1961), pp. 87–107; and Enrico Morini,

The structure was inaugurated with a truly imperial event. Pope and Emperor presided over an assembly (on 17 April) attended, so the record observes, by representatives of the Romans, Franks, Lombards, Saxons, and Swabians; by a host of bishops, lords, judges; and also by numerous court officials.[65] With a little imagination, one can almost visualize the occasion as a kind of living ruler portrait. The palace at St Severo subsequently provided other occasions for representation as well. It was here, for example, that Otto received Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg, who visited the city on his return from a pilgrimage to Rome.[66] Here, as well, Pope John XIII announced Magdeburg's elevation to the rank of archbishopric, in a document that associated Otto I with Emperor Constantine.[67] Later, during the era of the Salian dynasty, the Ravennese concluded an unsuccessful revolt against Emperor Conrad II (1024–39) by processing to the palace in sackcloth, with bare feet and unsheathed swords, thereby rendering satisfaction in accordance with their own law and as the ruler himself had demanded.[68] Whatever importance the palace complex may have assumed for the representation of rulership, residing in Ravenna also required that Ottonian emperors interact with local influences, especially the aristocracy and the archbishops. Each had ambitions and interests that moved independently of and potentially contradicted the ideals of the Ottonian *imperium*.

The Archbishops of Ravenna shared with all medieval prelates a concern with matters of discipline and spirituality. Archbishop Peter IV (927–71) and Archbishop Onesto (971–83), Otto I's contemporaries, apparently used their influence to encourage the adoption of the common life among the cathedral clergy.[69] Archbishop Peter IV had relics of St Probus translated to the cathedral from an abandoned church in the port of Classe, initiating a process that would lead to the canonization of most of Ravenna's early prelates.[70] As we have already noted, the archbishops had a more or less permanent focal point for their interests in their rivalries and disputes with Rome, but also in their ongoing efforts to maintain and expand their church's already substantial wealth.[71] We might add that they had a palace of their

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'Le strutture monastiche a Ravenna', in *Storia di Ravenna*, ed. by Susini and others, II.2, 305–21 (pp. 313–14). On Otto's palace, see Brühl, 'Königs- Bischofs- u. Stadtpfalz', p. 43.

[65] DO I 340/BO 445.

[66] Gerhard, *Vita Sancti Oudalrichi episcopi*, c. 21, ed. by G. Waitz, MGH SS, 4 (Hannover, 1841), pp. 377–428 (p. 407).

[67] Zimmermann, II, no. 177.

[68] Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi II. imperatoris*, c. 13 = *Wiponis Opera*, 3rd edn, ed. by Harry Bresslau, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 61 (Hannover: Hahn, 1915), p. 85.

[69] Augusto Vasina, *Romagna medievale* (Ravenna: Longo, 1970), pp. 18–19.

[70] Jean-Charles Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques: sépultures, listes, épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du nord des origines aux XE siècle* (Rome: École Français de Rome, 1988), pp. 660–61.

[71] Fasoli, 'Il dominio', p. 87.

own, which provided a venue for synods and other public acts.[72] In other words, Otto did not have Ravenna's representational landscape all to himself. The local aristocracy also had an interest in the archbishopric's administration, and especially in the selection of the prelates who presided over it. They had long been accustomed to a mutually beneficial relationship with the archbishops themselves. In return for military and other forms of support, the aristocracy received Church lands on favourable terms and access to Church offices.[73] One should not be surprised that, over a period of several centuries, a majority of the archbishops had local connections or were themselves members of the Ravennate aristocracy. My point here is that the Ravennate aristocracy was not in a permanent state of opposition to the archbishopric. In fact, they identified strongly with it. Expansion of the archbishops' wealth ultimately worked to their benefit because, under a locally oriented prelate, it was regranted to them in the form of benefices. Insofar as it affected their access to land and other forms of wealth, the rivalry with Rome was their concern as well. In light of Ronald Musto's observations regarding the barons of medieval Rome, one might suggest, in similar fashion, that the Ravannate aristocracy should not be viewed as 'a collection of medieval gangster families' that pursued their own, narrow interests to the detriment of the Church.[74] Rather, like some modern elites, they are likely to have equated their own interests with the common good of their church and community.

Whether Ottonian emperors attempted to control the election of the archbishops by installing their own candidates or simply drew an archbishop more intensely into their orbit, the imperial ideal of protecting and governing the Church, insofar as it applied to Ravenna, would seem virtually doomed to run head-on into the aristocracy's own desire to maintain control over the archbishopric and its lands.[75] And yet, one would not want to assume from this that the Ravennate aristocracy was consistently or uniformly hostile to the Ottonian *imperium*. Nor should we assume that Ottonian emperors were any less inclined to negotiate conditions of rule with the aristocracy of Ravenna than they were with their counterparts elsewhere in the empire. As luck would have it, the assembly of 967 permits us to examine this situation more closely. On this occasion, the chief business at hand was a complaint brought by Archbishop Peter IV that a certain Deacon Rainer, son of Count Teudegrim and Countess Ingelrada, had invaded the episcopal palace with a gang of armed

[72] Maureen C. Miller, *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 56–57; Miller, 'The Development of the Archepiscopal Residence in Ravenna, 300–1300', *Felix Ravenna*, 141/144 (1991/1992), 145–73 (p. 63 and passim).

[73] T. S. Brown, 'L'Aristocrazia di Ravenna da Giustiniano a Carlo Magno', *Felix Ravenna*, 131/132 (1986), 91–98 (pp. 93–94).

[74] Ronald G. Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome: Cola di Rienzo and the Politics of the New Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), p. 88.

[75] Sergi, 'Vescovi', p. 78.

men. Rainer had seized the Archbishop, placed him in chains, and imprisoned him.[76] Then he had pillaged the diocesan treasury. Protecting churchmen from such attacks was the stock in trade of Ottonian emperors. Moreover, Peter appears to have been one of Otto's more public supporters.[77] He was present at Augsburg in 952 when Berengar, acknowledging Ottonian overlordship, became Otto's vassal and received from him the kingdom of Italy.[78] It appears that he also attended the monarch's imperial coronation, 2 February 962.[79] Although it clearly violated one of the most enduring ambitions of his church, even the recognition of papal claims to the exarchate and Pentapolis, as embodied in the *Ottonianum*, does not seem to have diminished the Archbishop's support for Otto's *imperium*.[80] Liudprand of Cremona subsequently places him at the synod (6 November–4 December 963) which, under Otto's leadership, tried and deposed Pope John XII and replaced him with Leo VIII.[81]

When it came to dispensing justice, medieval emperors did not always (or perhaps ever) act in a manner commensurate with modern concepts of objectivity. Nor were they necessarily expected to do so.[82] In light of his close relationship with Otto I, the resolution of Archbishop Peter's situation was pretty much an open-and-shut case. After consulting with the judges and other officials, Otto declared that Rainer, who had failed to appear after three summonses, had forfeited all of his property to the Archbishop. If we were to remain on this level of analysis the case could simply be ended here, interpreted as a demonstration of the ideals of the Ottonian *imperium*,

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[76] On this incident and on Rainer, see Buzzi, 'Ricerche', pp. 164–65.

[77] On Peter IV's relationship with Otto I, see Zimmermann, 'Nella tradizione', pp. 108–09.

[78] BO 217a. On the synod and assembly at Augsburg, see Schieffer, 'Das Italienerlebnis Ottos des Großen', pp. 449–50.

[79] BO 309c. At a *plactum* held in 970, Archbishop Peter's testimony appears to associate the confirmation of certain disputed rights by Pope John XII and by Otto I with the latter's coronation, i.e. 'quando in Italia ingressus est de postea illum coronatus fuit'. See, *I placiti del regnum Italiae* vol. II.1. ed. by Cesare Manaresi, Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 96 (Rome: Isituto Storico Italiano, 1957), no. 164, p. 98. Böhmer (BO 309) places Otto's confirmation of the Archbishop's rights, more generally, within the period September 961 to January 962. See also Jon N. Sutherland, *Liudprand of Cremona, Bishop, Diplomat, Historian: Studies of the Man and his Age*, Biblioteca degli Studi Medievali, 14 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1988), p. 110.

[80] See above, note 46.

[81] Liudprand, *Historia* c. 9, ed. by Chiesa, p. 173. On these events, see Harald Zimmermann, *Papstabsetzungen des Mittelalters* (Graz: Böhlau, 1968), pp. 84–89; Salvatore Vacca, *Prima sedes a nemine iudicatur: Genesi e sviluppo storico dell'assioma fino al Decreto di Graziano*, Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae, 61 (Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1993), pp. 143–50.

[82] See Warner, 'Ideals and Action', pp. 11–12; Knut Görich, 'Der Herrscher als parteiischer Richter: Barbarossa in der Lombardei', *FMST*, 29 (1995), 273–88 (pp. 274–75).

but also as a simple act of support for a loyal archbishop. But there may be more to it than this. Peter was Bolognese, and apparently had no connections to the local aristocracy. It has been argued that his election had signified a substantial loss in power and wealth for the local dukes, who held much of their property from the Church.[83] In short, he epitomized the combination of influence and vulnerability that appears to have typified the condition of imperial favourites.[84] With this factor in mind, let us return to Deacon Rainer and his attack on Archbishop Peter. If we start from the assumption that Rainer's attack is unlikely to have been an act of mindless violence or, in any sense, an expression of hostility towards the Church, and if we take into consideration his connections with the local aristocracy, an alternative reading of the incident may present itself. Let us consider some of the events that followed Rainer's trial. In 971, Archbishop Peter 'voluntarily' retired to a monastery and was immediately replaced by Archbishop Onesto, scion of the Ravennate ducal house.[85] The election of a new prelate while his predecessor still lived was sufficiently unusual that it tended to invite scrutiny and generate suspicion regarding motives and propriety.[86] In the case of Onesto's succession, though the evidence is far from unambiguous, one may perceive in the background a hint that his predecessor's departure was not entirely voluntary. Peter Damian (1007–72) believed that Peter's retirement was voluntary, but one might argue that he had a vested interest in presenting it as such. He cited Archbishop Peter's 'abdication' as support for his own, voluntary, request to be relieved of his duties as Cardinal Bishop of Ostia.[87] The Council of Verzy/Reims (991), considering the event from a somewhat closer chronological perspective, cited Peter's 'abdication' as a precedent for its decision to depose Archbishop Arnulf of Reims in favor of the cathedral's schoolmaster, Gerbert (i.e. Pope Sylvester II).[88] The relevant decree (c. 43) also associates Peter's 'abdication' with Bishop Rather's disorderly and clearly forced departure from his

[83] See above, note 74.

[84] Cf. above, note 40.

[85] Gerhard Schwartz, *Die Beisetzung der Bistümer der Reichsitaliens unter den sächsischen und salischen Kaisern, 951–1122* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913; repr., Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1993), p. 151.

[86] See the discussion in David A. Warner, 'Thietmar of Merseburg: The Image of the Ottonian Bishop', in *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*, ed. by Michael Frassetto (New York: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2002), pp. 85–110 (pp. 93–94).

[87] *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, no. 72, ed. by Kurt Reindel, MGH. Briefe Kaiserzeit, 4.2 (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1988), p. 333.

[88] *Acta concilii Remensis ad Sanctum Basolum*, c. 43, ed. by G. H. Pertz and others, MGH SS, 3 (Hannover: Hahn, 1839; repr., Hiersemann: Stuttgart, 1987), p. 682. See also Buzzi, 'Ricerche', pp. 171–72; Savigni, 'I papi e Ravenna', p. 358.

see of Verona, appearing to suggest that similar conditions prevailed at Ravenna.[89] More telling, perhaps, is the fact that Archbishop Onesto immediately reverted to type and began alienating property to the aristocracy.[90] Insofar as relations between the Ravennate aristocracy and its church were concerned, the succession of Archbishop Onesto appears to have restored the status quo ante of aristocratic dominance. That the Archbishop and his church continued to enjoy the Emperor's favour would suggest that this retreat from the ideals of empire was acceptable to the Ottonian court.[91] We might conclude, therefore, that whatever the specific motivation for Deacon Rainer's attack, disatisfaction with Archbishop Peter's administration of the see must have hovered somewhere in the background. Perhaps he intended to depose or otherwise remove the Archbishop from his office, a goal that Rainer's peers may have found altogether laudable. In any case, the events surrounding Archbishop Onesto's succession suggest a narrative, other than that of Ottonian triumph, into which Rainer's attack on Archbishop Peter might be inserted.

Returning to Otto I's assembly at Ravenna, there is one more narrative that may be worthy of note. This narrative focuses, once again, on the long running dispute between Ravenna and Rome over the lands of the former exarchate. In conjunction with the proceedings at Ravenna, Otto apparently granted these lands to Pope John XIII. Adalbert of Magdeburg notes that Otto ceded the city and region of Ravenna, which had been taken from the Pope some time ago, and he adds that the Pope returned to Rome with great joy.[92] Otto should have been happy as well. After all, he had fulfilled his promise, as stipulated in the *Ottonianum*, and lived up to the ideal, expressed in the coronation *ordo*, to 'protect and defend the holy Roman Church in all its necessities'. Nevertheless, there is also evidence to suggest that the Emperor's joy would have been rather more tempered. A later document informs us that the Pope immediately granted Ravenna and some of the other lands he had received to Queen Adelheid, for the duration of her life.[93] This remarkable turn of events made sense. Adelheid was certainly an appropriate recipient of papal lands and rights. Her Italian connections had helped secure Otto's claims to the Italian throne and paved the way for his imperial coronation as well.[94] Adelheid's biographer, Odilo of Cluny

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[89] On Rather's troubled career as Bishop of Verona, see Maureen C. Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950–1150* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 157–58.

[90] The archival evidence is cited by Buzzi, 'Ricerche', p. 175, n. 1. See also Augusto Simonini, *La chiesa Ravennate: Splendore e tramonto di una metropoli* (Ravenna: Monte di Ravenna, 1964), p. 224.

[91] Buzzi, 'Ricerche', p. 174, n. 2.

[92] Adalbert, *Cont. Reg.*, s.a. 967, p. 178.

[93] Zimmermann, II, no. 354.

[94] See Stefan Weinfurter, 'Kaiserin Adelheid und das ottonische Kaisertum', *FMST*, 33 (1999), 1–19 (pp. 6–11, 19); Ludger Körntgen, 'Starke Frauen: Edgith-Adelheid-Theophanu', in *Otto der Große*, ed. by Puhle, I, 119–32 (pp. 122–26).

(993–1048), claimed that she had subjected Germany and Italy 'to the Roman throne' and 'installed [Otto] as emperor of Rome'.[95] She also continued to play a prominent role in imperial politics and appears to have exercised a particular influence on 'policies' in the *regnum Italiae*.[96] It has generally been argued that granting these lands, and especially Ravenna, to Adelheid allowed Otto to secure his rights there without requiring the Pope to surrender his claims.[97] Nevertheless, it may have done something else as well. By granting the lands to Adelheid rather than administering them directly, Pope John allowed Archbishop Peter, a loyal imperialist, to save at least some measure of face, and perhaps the possibility of mollifying opposition at home.

At this point, I would hope that my comments regarding the various narratives generated by Otto I's assembly at Ravenna would permit a few tentative conclusions. I began this essay by asserting that a multilateral, multivocal approach might yield positive results if applied to Ottonian representations of empire. The assembly at Ravenna, on 17 April, would certainly qualify as such. It revealed the Emperor as defender of the Church and judge, for example. And, from the diverse identities of those in attendance, one might argue that it also represented him as a ruler over many nations, a common imperial ideal.[98] But this is only if we view the event in terms of the narrative of empire. If we consider it in terms of other, more localized narratives, nuances may emerge. Thus, for Archbishop Peter, the occasion would have signified the support he enjoyed from the Emperor, but also perhaps his vulnerability, since it was accompanied by the loss of the exarchate to the Pope. For the Ravennate aristocracy, to which Rainer belonged, it may have confirmed the threat to carefully crafted family strategies based on access to Church land and offices. Finally, and somewhat more speculatively, one might suggest that for Archbishop Peter's allies or for personal enemies of Rainer it may have signified the defeat of a powerful enemy or rival. In any case, so I hope to have suggested, the range of reactions to this event may have been quite wide indeed. Even if the expanse of time separating us from the events at Ravenna prevents us from reconstructing these reactions in their entirety, a willingness 'to dissolve the certainties of events into the multiple possibilities of alternative narrations' may yet permit us to acknowledge the possibility and potential of their existence.[99]

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[95] *Epitaphium domine Adelheide auguste* c. 3 = *Die Lebensbeschreibung der Kaiserin Adelheid von Abt Odilo von Cluny*, ed. by Herbert Paulhart, MIÖG, Ergänzungsband, 20.2 (Graz: Böhlau, 1962), p. 32.

[96] That Adelheid may have played a guiding role in Ottonian relations with Venice, in particular, is suggested by Amalie Fößel, *Die Königin im mittelalterlichen Reich: Herrschaftsausübung, Herrschaftsrechte, Handlungsspielräume Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000), pp. 283–85.

[97] See e.g. Savigni, 'I papi e Ravenna', p. 358.

[98] Janet L. Nelson, 'Rulers and Government', in *NCMH*, III, 95–129 (pp. 95–96).

[99] Shama, *Dead Certainties*, p. 320.

Concepts and Practice of Empire in Ottonian Germany (950–1024)

JOHN W. BERNHARDT

The concept of empire, both in the Middle Ages and for modern scholars of empire, remains an elusive one. For example, when addressing the supposed primary source evidence for Otto III's imperial ideas, the late Timothy Reuter stated: '*Renovatio imperii Romani* was a shorthand for a whole complex of ideas, not all of which were consistent with each other.'[1] This rings true also of statements by scholars researching and studying the topic of medieval empire. Let me give one particularly poignant example. In an article addressing the organization, forms of rulership, and societal structures in early medieval Germany, Hagen Keller devotes the first pages to some of the incongruities of the renewal of empire under the Ottonians and their immediate successors. Within two pages he makes the following statements: 'One could ask if empire was really more than a myth, which only achieved reality because the emperorship was represented to a certain degree within the kingship of the Ottonians and their successors'; 'The medieval emperorship is a phenomenon of long duration and at the same time an intermittent form of dominion'; and finally, 'Medieval emperorship is a reality, without allowing itself to be realized in concrete terms, that is, it is an institution without institutions.'[2]

I intend to investigate and address some concepts and practices of empire in the Ottonian period in terms of how these may or may not have represented the Ottonians' aspirations to imperial power. To accomplish this I will synthesize the most pertinent and current research that various scholars have produced regarding the imperial ambitions and ideas of the individual Ottonian kings and emperors so that

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[1] Timothy Reuter, 'Otto III and the Historians', *History Today*, 41 (1991), 21–27 (p. 23).

[2] Hagen Keller, 'Reichsorganisation, Herrschaftsformen und Gesellschaftsstrukturen im Regnum Teutonicum', in *Il secolo di ferro: mito e realtà del secolo X*, Settimane, 38 (1991), pp. 159–95, 197–203 (discussion) (pp. 162–63).

the body of research on imperial ideas for all the Ottonian emperors appears in one place for analysis. To this I will add insights specifically from my own diplomatic research on Otto III and Henry II in regard to their notions and practice of empire. Thus, I will examine a sampling of the historiography and the diverse sources that offer insights into the concept of empire to demonstrate that concepts and practice of empire generally remained in flux in the Ottonian period, and yet often they were adapted to quite specific historical circumstances and currents. Moreover, perspectives often altered the concept of the medieval empire: the empire looked different if one stood in Byzantium, Rome, Ottonian Germany, or Capetian France. For the sake of my analysis, I will divide the period somewhat arbitrarily into two periods: the period of territorial expansion and renewal of emperorship under Otto I and Otto II, roughly 950–83, and a transitional period of imperial ideas from 994 to 1024.

Territorial Expansion and Renewal of Emperorship, 950–983

Otto I

Between 936, his elevation to the kingship, and 955, Otto I defended his sole accession to the throne, consolidated the realm internally, began to expand the kingdom's territory on the northern and eastern frontier and to christianize it, created loose hegemonial relations with the west Frankish realm and Italy, and decisively defeated the Magyars at the Lech, thereby halting the invasions of Europe from the East. Already in the early 950s, after the deaths of Hugh of Italy in 947/48 and of King Lothar late in 950, instability in the northern Italian peninsula began to offer opportunities to the King and the south German dukes to intervene and further expand the realm south of the Alps. Yet, as Hagen Keller has demonstrated in a recent article, Otto I achieved the emperorship only after having been rejected once in 951 and then using the next decade to take advantage of an ever-changing situation in Italy and to develop new ideas about both his status as emperor and the character of the imperial office.[3] He appears to have done this in three ways: by emphasizing his elevated status as a lord or *dominus* over the King of Italy; by using the Synod of Augsburg in 952 to portray himself as proclaiming and acting on behalf of all Christendom ('aeclesiae stabilitatis profectus et totius christianitatis utilitates') and thus standing watch over the status of the Christian empire ('de statu christiani imperii'); and finally by leading his Christian people as *triumphator* to a decisive victory over the heathen peoples in 955.[4] Otto then was in the position to protect the peoples and the Church,

[3] Hagen Keller, 'Entscheidungssituationen und Lernprozesse in den "Anfangen der deutschen Geschichte": Die "Italien- und Kaiserpolitik" Ottos des Großen', *FMST*, 33 (1999), 20–48.

[4] Ibid., p. 39. For the edition of the synodal acts, see *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens 916–1001*, vol. I: *919–961*, ed. by Ernst-Dieter Hehl (with the assistance of Horst Fuhrmann), MGH Concilia, 6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1987), no. 18, pp. 185–94.

in short, to do what a king over peoples should do. As some historians have claimed, Otto had achieved an 'imperial kingship'.[5] Thus, when a new constellation of historical possibilities arose at the end of the 950s, Otto used his elevated status and crossed the Alps to receive imperial coronation in Rome by Pope John XII in 962 and, thus, powerfully combine both the Italian and the German realms in his own hands.

This brief overview of the historical situation opens the door to an examination of several competing notions of empire and emperorship and various interpretations of this restoration of empire (*renovatio imperii*). The notion of empire was certainly in flux depending on one's vantage point, be it historical or historiographical. Let us begin with the most commonly ascribed characteristic of Otto's new emperorship, its Carolingian qualities. Certainly the immediate cause of Otto's trip to Rome was Pope John XII's request for protection against Berengar II. In this sense, his elevation resembles the immediate motive for Charlemagne's coronation in 800.[6] This is also how the historian Liutprand represents the case.[7] Otto's reverence for Charlemagne is well attested, and, as we will see, additional factors, such as his title and the promulgation of the *Ottonianum*, to which I shall return, also reveal Carolingian influence. Moreover, as Gerhart Ladner clearly demonstrated, Charlemagne's concern for internal Christian renewal, the spiritual side of imperial renewal, subtly altered the Carolingian *renovatio* into 'the internal, religious-political renewal of an Empire'.[8] As I have mentioned, Otto already had begun to develop these notions of Christian political renewal in the years prior to his imperial coronation. A notion of being appointed by God played a stronger role in Ottonian ruler self-consciousness than in the Carolingians' conception.[9] As we will see, this enhanced the significance of the

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[5] This concept is a modern construct of German historiography based primarily on the ideas of Helmut Beumann. See, for example, Beumann, 'Das imperiale Königtum im 10. Jahrhundert', *Die Welt als Geschichte*, 10 (1950), 117–30, where he sees Ottonian concepts of empire as well as medieval concepts of state as being a synthesis of heterogeneous ideas. On this concept in German historiography, see Egon Boshof, *Königtum und Königsherrschaft im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1993), pp. 105–07.

[6] Benjamin Arnold, *Medieval Germany, 500–1300: A Political Interpretation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 83–85.

[7] Liudprand of Cremona, *Historia Ottonis [De ottone rege]*, cc. 1–4, in Liudprand, *Opera Omnia*, ed. by Paolo Chiesa, CCCM (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 169–71.

[8] Gerhart B. Ladner, 'Reform: Innovation and Tradition in Medieval Christendom', in Ladner, *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols, Storia e Letteratura, 155–56 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1983), II, 533–58 (pp. 543–45) (originally published in *Theology and Law in Islam* (Wiesbaden, 1971), pp. 53–73).

[9] Hagen Keller, 'Herrscherbild und Herrschaftslegitimation: Zur Deutung der ottonischen Denkmäler', *FMST*, 19 (1985), 290–311, and Stefan Weinfurter, 'Zur "Funktion" des ottonischen und salischen Königtums', in *Mittelalterforschung nach der Wende 1989*, ed. by Michael Borgolte, Historische Zeitschrift, Beihefte, n.s., 20 (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1995), pp. 348–61, provide two examples of the extensive literature on this point.

liturgy and liturgical representations of rulership, whether in the profusion of coronation *ordines* or the ruler portraits emphasizing a Christ-centered kingship.[10] Some scholars see Byzantine models rather than Carolingian in these developments.[11]

Although the Carolingian and Christian renewal elements present in the *renovatio imperii* of 962 may seem dominant, many competing concepts of empire existed in Otto's day, which the extensive historiography of the event addresses.[12] Let me survey them briefly. One view asserts that the Roman-Christian Empire in the Medieval West was a papal construct, the conscious intellectual creation of the papacy, in an attempt to extricate itself from Byzantium's influence and culminating in Charlemagne's coronation in 800. Historically, one could argue that this ultimately was the position of the papacy, which of course later resurfaced during the Gregorian reform. Historiographically, this position was argued most forcefully by Walter Ullmann, and elements of his argument have been adopted almost universally.[13] Generally,

[10] In general, see Carl Erdmann, *Forschungen zur politischen Ideenwelt des Frühmittelalters* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1951), pp. 52–91, on the *ordines*. On Christ-centred kingship, see Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, 2nd edn (London: Harvey Miller, 1999), pp. 57–68; and Stefan Weinfurter, 'Sakralkönigtum und Herrschaftsbegründung um die Jahrhundertwende: Die Kaiser Otto III. und Heinrich II. in ihren Bildern', in *Bilder erzählen Geschichte*, ed. by Helmut Altrichter, Rombach Historiae, 6 (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 1995), pp. 47–103. Of the older literature, the general starting point remains Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 42–86.

[11] Werner Ohnsorge, 'Otto I. und Byzanz', in *Festschrift zur Jahrtausendfeier der Kaiserkrönung Ottos des Großen*, 2 vols, MIÖG Ergänzungsbände, 20.1–2 (Cologne: Bohlau, 1962), I, 107–21, and Franz Dölger, 'Die Ottonen Kaiser und Byzanz', in *Karolingische und ottonische Kunst: Werden, Wesen, Wirkung*, Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christliche Archäologie, 3 (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner Verlag, 1957), pp. 47–59. More recently, see Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dodogne, 'The Art of Byzantium and its Relation to Germany in the Time of the Empress Theophano', in *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium*, ed. by Adelbert Davids (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 211–30, esp. pp. 212–22, and Edmond Voordeckers, 'Imperial Art in Byzantium from Basil I to Basil II', in ibid., pp. 231–43, esp. 241–43, who is much more circumspect.

[12] Johannes Fried, 'Otto der Große, sein Reich und Europa: Vergangenheitsbilder eines Jahrtausends', in *Otto der Grosse: Magdeburg und Europa*, vol. I: *Essays*, ed. by Matthias Puhle (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2001), pp. 537–62 (pp. 537–43), provides a useful overview of how multiple sources contemporary with Otto I viewed him and his restoration of empire.

[13] Walter Ullmann, 'Reflections on the Medieval Empire', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), pp. 89–108, and also Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn (London: Methuen, 1970), pp. 229–61; see also Friedrich Kempf, 'Das mittelalterliche Kaisertum', in *Das Königtum: Seine geistlichen und rechtlichen Grundlagen*, Vorträge und Forschungen, 3 (Lindau: Thorbecke, 1956), pp. 230–32, and James Muldoon, *Empire and Order: The Concept of Empire, 800–1800* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 64–86.

Otto I and the emperors after him accepted the principle that the imperial title simply could not be assumed, but that the ruler had to be crowned, if not made, by the pope. Moreover, this view elaborated a concept of dual universality emanating from the papacy. The emperor achieved his universal ruling function through his coronation, and the pope maintained his ecclesiastical universality by means of imperial protection. Thus, the imperial coronation imparted to the emperor the main task of protecting the Roman church, and the auxiliary task of Christianizing heathen peoples. Indeed, in a papal charter issued ten days after Otto I's coronation, Pope John XII proclaimed that Otto had come to the universal papal seat after conquering the Hungarians and other heathen peoples in order to attain the imperial crown of victory from St Peter as a defender of the Christian church.[14] One should not forget, however, that Otto desperately needed the papacy's help as well to create his new archbishopric at Magdeburg.[15]

Interestingly, this proclamation of John XII, in addition to a Rome-Papal based concept of empire, contained a subtle recognition of an independent or non-Roman idea of empire. This concept appears most cogently formulated in the writings of Widukind of Corvey. Widukind did not see either the Romans or the Church as instrumental to Otto I's emperorship. Instead, he claimed that Otto earned the imperial status by virtue of both being a ruler who ruled over other kings and being acclaimed emperor by his army after the battle of the Lech. In fact, Widukind consistently designated Otto as emperor since 955 and only alluded to Otto I's papal coronation of 962 in the last sentence of his work.[16] On the other hand, Widukind's models for emperorship date either to the Carolingian conquest of Saxony and of other peoples, or to the classical Roman notion of the army making the emperor. The coronation *ordines*, which originated under Otto I, also provide evidence for the existence of both Roman and non-Roman ideas of emperorship. The Pontifical of Mainz from around 960 contains, in addition to a royal coronation *ordo*, two imperial *ordines*, one designated as Roman and the other as western (*secundum*

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[14] *Papsturkunden, 896–1046*, ed. by Harald Zimmermann, 3 vols, 2nd rev. edn, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Denkschriften, 174, 177, 198 [=Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission, 3–4] (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988–89), I, 281–84, no. 154 [hereafter abbreviated, *PU*, for example *PU* 154]. See Carl Erdmann, 'Das ottonische Reich als Imperium Romanum', *DA*, 6 (1943), 412–41 (p. 420). The report is also known from the *Annalisto Saxo*, ed. by Georg Waitz, MGH SS, 6 (Hannover: Anton Hiersemann, 1844), p. 616.

[15] For an overview, see Johannes Laudage, *Otto der Grosse (912–973): Eine Biographie* (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2001), pp. 208–24, who provides previous literature and the most pertinent sources.

[16] Widukind, *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri III*, 5th edn, ed. by Hans-Eberhard Lohmann and Paul Hirsch, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 60 (Hannover: Hahn, 1935; repr., 1977), 3.49, p. 128, 3.76. p. 154.

Occidentales) or Frankish.[17] Moreover, this independent or non-Roman idea of empire had wide currency in tenth-century Europe, especially in England, Spain, and even in the west Frankish-French realm.[18]

At the same time, ideas drawing upon conceptions of the ancient Roman Empire were current. In his seminal article of 1943, Carl Erdmann demonstrated that Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim's *Deeds of Otto I* (*Gesta Ottonis*) and her *Origins of Gandersheim* (*Primordia coenobii Gandesheimenesis*) as well as the letters of Gerbert of Aurillac, the later Pope Sylvester II, all contain direct allusions to Roman imperial ideas.[19] Remember also that Widukind's depiction of elevation by the army is just as much a classical idea as a Germanic one.[20] Classically inspired, but with a distinctively religious quality, the monk Adso of Montiérender in 950 provided an eschatological explanation of the medieval German Empire's significance. As long as the Roman Empire, the fourth and final monarchy predicted by Daniel, existed, the Antichrist would not come. Adso then accounts for the rebirth of empire under the Frankish kings and their successors. He writes: 'We do indeed see that the larger part of the Roman Empire is destroyed, but so long as there are Frankish kings whose duty it is to uphold it, its prestige will not entirely disappear, because it will be supported by those kings.'[21] Adso lived in Toul, part of Otto I's realm, he wrote the treatise for the west Frankish Queen Gerberga, Otto's sister, and he died on pilgrimage in 992. Thus, he certainly experienced the emperorship of Otto I and saw the final eschatological end delayed, even if it were through the emperorship of an east Frank rather than a west Frank.[22] Folz and Ladner both argue for the power of these eschatological connections to Rome; they represent a dominant theory and

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[17] *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du Dixième Siècle*, vol. I, *Studi e Testi*, ed. by Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963), nos LXXII, LXXV, LXXVI.

[18] James Brundage, 'Widukind of Corvey and the "Non-Roman" Imperial Idea', *Mediaeval Studies*, 22 (1960), 15–26, and Erdmann, *Forschungen*, pp. 1–51.

[19] Erdmann, 'Ottonische Reich', pp. 412–41.

[20] Edmund E. Stengel, 'Der Heerkaiser (Den Kaiser macht das Heer): Studien zur Geschichte eines politischen Gedankens', in Stengel, *Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen zur des Kaisergedankens im Mittelalter* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1965), pp. 1–169 (pp. 58–91).

[21] Adso Dervenis, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, ed. by Daniel Verhelst, CCCM (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), pp. 20–30 (p. 26). Adso is translated in Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia Unversity Press, 1979), pp. 82–87. See also, Robert Folz, *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century*, trans. by Sheila Ann Ogilvie (London: Edward Arnold, 1969), pp. 45–46, whose translation I have adopted.

[22] Heinz Löwe, 'Kaisertum und Abendland in ottonischer und frühsalischer Zeit', in Löwe, *Von Cassiodor zu Dante: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Geschichtsschreibung und politischen Ideenwelt des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1973), pp. 231–59 (p. 238) (originally published in *HZ*, 196 (1963), 529–62).

attitude of the tenth century that provided continuity in people's minds between the Roman Empire and the Frankish Empire.[23]

Let me now move briefly back to Otto I and 962 to examine some evidence from his own court as to ideas that were current. After his imperial coronation, Otto I consistently used the simple title *imperator augustus*, following Carolingian usage dating from the reign of Louis the Pious. Moreover, the first use of this *intitulatio* occurs in the well-known *Ottonianum* of 13 February 962, which was modelled on the *Sacramentum Romanorum* of 824.[24] In this document Otto confirmed the Carolingian donations to the papacy and the imperial proscriptions to ensure legal and canonical papal elections. It probably also contained a clause, based on its Carolingian model, requiring the pontiff-elect to notify the emperor of his election so that the consecration may take place in the presence of imperial legates. The original document, however, does not survive, only an altered version that was issued after a papally inspired revolt in 963 led to the deposition of John XII at a Roman synod presided over by Otto himself. The altered version contained a provision that the newly elected pope must swear an oath before imperial legates or the emperor's son before being consecrated. In essence, the alterations to this document gave the emperor a right to scrutinize papal elections. They implied, at least, a right to confirm those elections and provided a justification for future imperial dispositions and future papal appointments.[25]

I want to draw attention briefly to specific deviations from Carolingian models by Otto's court that also document the new quality of his imperial ideas. Immediately after his imperial coronation, Otto I began to use a new seal, replacing the old Carolingian seal type that had been used by east Frankish rulers since Louis the Child

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[23] Gerhart B. Ladner, 'The Holy Roman Empire of the Tenth Century and East Central Europe', in Ladner, *Images and Ideas*, II, 457–70 (pp. 460–61) (originally published in *Polish Review*, 5 (1960), pp. 3–14), and Folz, *Concept of Empire*, p. 47. Regarding eschatological expectations and theory at this time, see more recently Johannes Fried, 'Endzeiterwartung um die Jahrtausendwende', *DA*, 45 (1989), 381–473, David Verhelst, 'Adso of Montier-en-Der and the Fear of the Year 1000', in *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950–1050*, ed. by Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, and David C. van Meter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 81–92 (originally published as 'Adso van Montier-en-Der en de angst voor het jaar Duizend', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 90 (1977), 1–10); and Benjamin Arnold, 'Eschatological Imagination and the Program of Roman Imperial Renewal at the End of the Tenth Century', in *Apocalyptic Year 1000*, ed. by Landes, Gow, and van Meter, pp. 271–87.

[24] *Die Urkunden Konradi I., Heinrici I. und Ottonis I. Diplomata*, ed. by Theodor Sickel, MGH Diplomata König, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1879–84), no. 235.

[25] On the interpretation of this difficult document, see Walter Ullmann, 'The Origins of the Ottonianum', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 11.1 (1953), 114–28, and Harold Zimmermann, 'Privilegium Ottonianum', in *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. by Adalbert Erler and Ekkehard Kaufmann, 5 vols (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1971–1998), III, cols 2025–27.

Figure 1. Third Imperial Seal of Otto I (966).

(900–11). The Carolingian type depicts a warrior in half figure, turned to the left and bearing a lance on the shoulder and holding a shield. The new seal bears a frontal figure of the Emperor, and later in the definitive imperial seal from 966, it depicts the Emperor holding a sceptre and a globe and wearing a crown (Figure 1). Thus, liturgical regalia have replaced weapons. This frontal pose had a tradition in the West in the representation of ecclesiastical dignitaries, and Hagen Keller sees Otto making this choice deliberately to portray himself as called by God into the imperial office.[26] Other

[26] Hagen Keller, 'Ottonische Herrschersiegel: Beobachtungen und Fragen zu Gestalt und Aussage und zur Funktion im historischen Kontext', in *Bild und Geschichte: Studien zur politischen Ikongraphie. Festschrift für Hansmartin Schwarzmaier zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. by Konrad Krimm and Herwig John (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997), pp. 3–51

elements point to Byzantine influences. The restoration of the imperial title in 962 deeply affected and troubled the Byzantine emperors, and Otto's later reign fluctuated between diplomatic missions to gain recognition and approval and open conflict over territories in southern Italy. Yet Otto and his imperial successors looked to Byzantium for models, both public and artistic, of how to represent and legitimize their new position. In the public sphere Otto seized on two. On Christmas Day 967, he had Pope John XIII crown his son Otto II as co-emperor,[27] and, after a first failed attempt tied to that action, Otto finally managed in 972 to negotiate a marriage for his son to a Byzantine princess, but not one of direct imperial descent. Theophanu was married 'in Rome by the holy apostles' and crowned empress on her wedding day. Thereby Otto I gained some legitimization and Byzantine recognition for his emperorship.[28]

Otto II

Under Otto II, Otto the Great's successor, imperial concepts intensify as well as the representation of those concepts, and attempts to put them into practice. Having spent almost the last six years of his father's reign with him in Italy, Otto II, after his father's death, spent the next seven years in the north solidifying his rule by dealing with various problems on the western and eastern frontiers and reasserting royal control over Bavaria.[29] During this period several important imperial concepts emerge in connection with the Byzantine Theophanu. Already in her marriage charter of 972, Theophanu was named as the imperial consort (*consortium imperii*). Then in a

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(pp. 9–12, 21–26); Keller, 'Entscheidungssituationen', pp. 45–46; Keller, 'Zu den Siegeln der Karolinger und der Ottonen: Urkunden als "Hoheitszeichen" in der Kommunikation des Konigs mit seinen Getreuen (Taf. XL–XLVIII)', *FMST*, 32 (1998), 400–42 (pp. 417–19 and Table XLIII, no. 91).

[27] Werner Ohnsorge, 'Das Mitkaisertum in der abendländischen Geschichte des früheren Mittelalters', in his *Abendland und Byzanz: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte der byzantinisch-abendländischen Beziehungen und des Kaisertums* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1958), pp. 261–87.

[28] Karl Leyser, '*Theophanu Divina Gratia Imperatrix Augusta*: Western and Eastern Emperorship in the Later Tenth Century', in Leyser, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe*, vol. I: *The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (London: Hambledon, 1994), pp. 143–64 (pp. 154–60).

[29] See Manfred Hellmann, 'Die Ostpolitik Kaiser Ottos II.', in *Syntagma Friburgense: Historische Studien Hermann Aubin dagebracht zum 70. Geburtstag* (Lindau: Thorbecke, 1956), pp. 49–67; Carlrichard Brühl, *Deutschland – Frankreich: Die Geburt zweier Völker*, 2nd rev. edn (Cologne: Böhlau, 1995), pp. 553–75; and Hubertus Seibert, 'Eines grossen Vaters glückloser Sohn? Die Neue Politik Ottos II.', in *Ottonische Neuanfänge: Symposion zur Austellung 'Otto der Grosse, Magdeburg und Europa'*, ed. by Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2001), pp. 293–320 (pp. 293–305).

charter of 974,[30] when she and Otto still remained childless, she was given co-equal status with Otto and called *coimperatrix augusta*, a title that no empress before or after her bore.[31] According to Byzantine custom, as numerous scholars have pointed out, this title designated to Theophanu the right of succession in the case that the pair remained childless.[32] This status is visually confirmed in the famous ivory in Paris, which depicts Christ blessing both Otto II and Theophanu (Figure 2). Both human depictions are of the same size and both are called *imperator augustus*, although Otto has the additional epithet *Romanorum*. Thus, in this period, due partially to Theophanu's influence, a new Byzantine-modelled 'court' culture began to emerge. This is evident not only in the aforementioned ivory but also in the reemergence of painted imperial ruler portraits in biblical and illuminated manuscripts. These portraits, borrowing from Carolingian and Byzantine models, depict throned emperors being presented with tribute from various provinces, as in a famous portrait of Otto II (Figure 3). Moreover, in later liturgical books, royal portraits often emphasize Christocentric rulership in which the rulers, as Christ's vicars, were elevated from the worldly plane into the mandorla of Christ and the saints.

The lengthy arenga of a charter for St Denis in October 980, issued as Otto II was on his way to Italy, contains a programmatic formulation of the universal significance of Otto's imperial dignity and duty.[33] As Hubertus Seibert has recently discussed, this arenga signifies a change of course in Otto II's imperial aspirations to exceed those of his father. To this end, Otto attempted to put into practice a much more dominant claim to rulership throughout Italy. He broke with his father's treaty-based policies and waged a war of economic blockade against the Venetian Republic in order to force Venice into the fold of imperial power.[34] Like his father, he also concerned himself with the Lombardic principalities in southern Italy but with

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[30] *Die Urkunden Otto des II.*, ed. by Theodor Sickel, MGH Diplomata König, 2.1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1888), no. 76 and later in nos 194–96 [hereafter abbreviated DO II, e.g., DO II 76 or DO II 194–96].

[31] Johannes Fried, *Der Weg in die Geschichte: Die Ursprünge Deutschlands bis 1024* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1994), pp. 551–52.

[32] Mathilda Uhlirz, 'Zu dem Mitkaisertum der Ottonen: *Theophanu coimperatrix*', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 50 (1957), 383–89 (pp. 385–87), and Seibert, 'Eines grossen Vaters glückloser Sohn?', p. 300, who cites the pertinent older literature.

[33] DO II 232. For this interpretation, see Seibert, 'Eines grossen Vaters glückloser Sohn?', p. 306.

[34] On Venice and the empire, see Gerhard Rösch, *Venedig und das Reich: Handels- und verkehrspolitischen Beziehungen in der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts in Rome, 53 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1982), pp. 7–15, and for more detailed treatment of the Ottonian period, Wolfgang Giese, 'Venedig-Politik und Imperiums-Idee bei den Ottonen', in *Herrschaft, Kirche, Kultur: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Friedrich Prinz zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Georg Jenal, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 37 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1993), pp. 219–43.

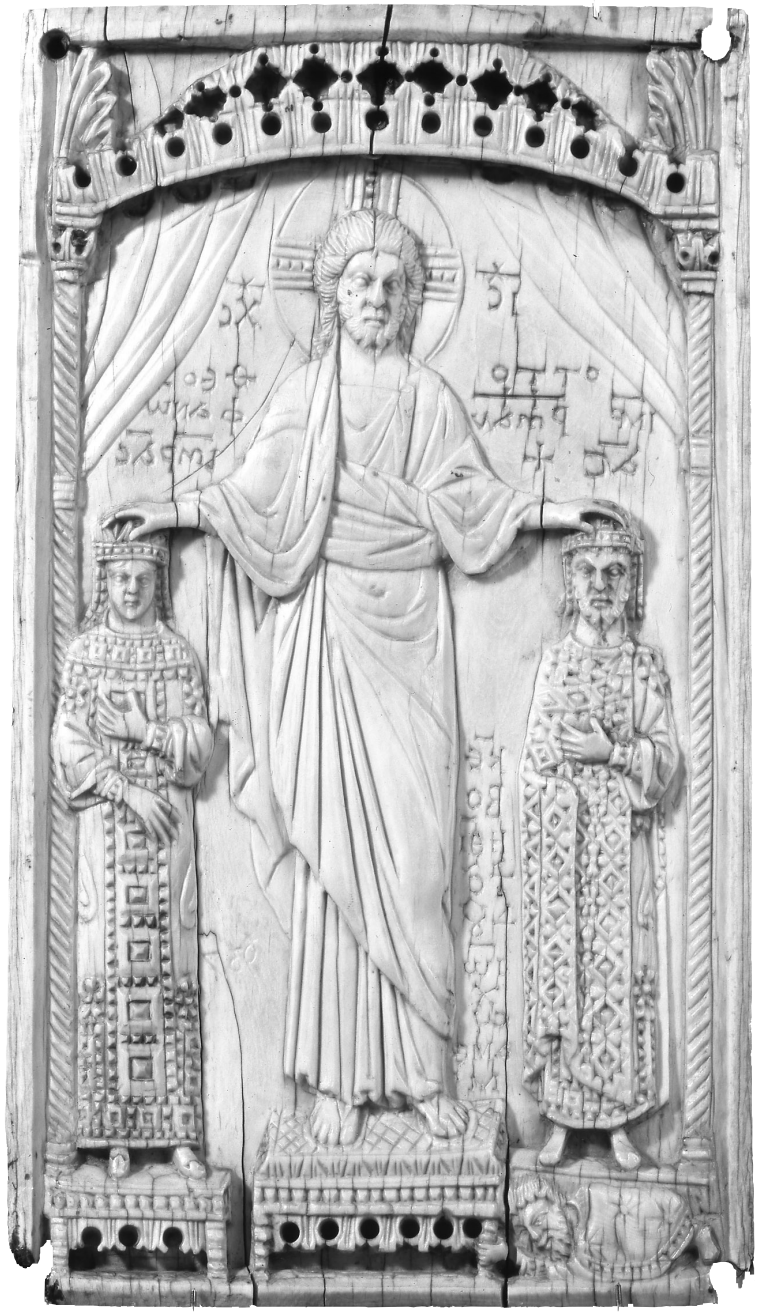

Figure 2. Christ Blessing Otto II and Theophanu.

Figure 3. Otto II, Enthroned and Receiving Tribute from the Provinces.

greater intensity. Whereas Otto I had based his relations with Capua, Benevento, and Salerno on relationships of loose lordship, Otto II attempted to bring these areas under direct imperial control both politically and ecclesiastically. Otto II spent more time than any other Ottonian emperor in southern Italy representing and practicing imperial power. He gave justice, reorganized local power structures, and raised Salerno — in opposition to the Byzantine metropolitan see of Otranto — to the status of an archbishopric, attempting to integrate the southern Italian Lombardic churches into the imperial church and make them more susceptible to imperial influence.[35] In general his actions in the south to establish imperial hegemony there meant confrontations with the other powers in this region, the Byzantines and the Saracens. In terms of the representation of imperial power, Otto's adoption of a new 'universal' imperial title was significant. On 16 March 982, while besieging Tarent in Byzantine territory, Otto II used, for the first time on Italian soil, the imperial title, *Romanorum imperator augustus*, a title used frequently thereafter.[36] As Seibert has indicated, with this use Otto II 'sanctioned the Roman roots and the universal character of the Ottonian empership' in contradistinction to the title claimed by the Byzantines.[37] Thus, the new title implicitly diminished the Byzantine claim to universal empire. Indeed, this actually accorded with some contemporary Byzantine notions of a reduced 'Greek' Empire, focused no longer on Rome but on Constantinople, with which Otto may have become acquainted from Theophanu.[38] Thus Otto II, both in practice and in representation, attempted to intensify imperial claims and aspirations over those of his father, and these centred on the hegemony over Italy. In spite of Otto's great reverse near Colonna regia in July 982 at the hands of the Saracens and the later revolt of Slavic peoples in the summer of 983, Otto II had initiated practices of governance and empire that his successors in part would develop further. Yet, his early death brought his own imperial aspirations to an end.[39]

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[35] Seibert, 'Eines grossen Vaters glückloser Sohn?', pp. 309–10. On the itinerary of Otto II, see now Dirk Alvermann, *Königsherrschaft und Reichsintegration: Eine Untersuchung zur politischen Struktur von regna und imperium zur Zeit Kaiser Ottos II.*, Berliner Historische Studien, 28 (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1998), esp. pp. 82–99, 153–55, and 182–84.

[36] DO II 273. On Otto II's *intitulationes*, see Herwig Wolfram, 'Lateinische Herrschertitel im neunten und zehnten Jahrhundert', in *Intitulatio*, vol. II: *Lateinische Herscher- und Fürstentitel im neunten und zehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. by Herwig Wolfram, MIÖG Ergänzungsband, 24 (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau, 1973), pp. 19–178 (pp. 90, 93–95). Later uses of this title occur in DO II 273, 276–78, 282, 286, 288, 291, 301, 304–06.

[37] Seibert, 'Eines grossen Vaters glückloser Sohn?', p. 312.

[38] See C. Telemachos Lounghis, 'Die byzantinische Ideologie der "begrenzten Ökumene" und die römische Frage im ausgehenden 10. Jahrhundert', *Byzantinoslavica*, 56 (1995), 117–26; and Seibert, 'Eines grossen Vaters glückloser Sohn?', pp. 312–13.

[39] Seibert, 'Eines grossen Vaters glückloser Sohn?', p. 320; and Hellmann, 'Ostpolitik Kaiser Ottos II.', pp. 66–67.

Thus, in the period between 950 and 983, many concepts of empire contended with each other and often fused. The ideas emerging out of Otto I's imperial coronation were, as Benjamin Arnold has stated, 'a murky mixture of ecclesiastical, Frankish, and Roman', and I would add, Byzantine, 'traditions and ambitions'.[40] Yet, as Hagen Keller has demonstrated, in the decade of the 950s, Otto and his associates seem to have reflected seriously on imperial notions in such a way that they envisioned an emperorship in which the territorial boundaries would remain intact but that the dignity of the emperor, on the basis of an elevated responsibility for Christendom, would overarch these boundaries.[41] Moreover, Rome-centred concepts of empire steadily increased and intensified, while others were drawn into their orbit or abandoned. By the end of Otto II's reign and in the face of new struggles with Byzantium, he deviated from the *intitulatio* of his father and used the title *Romanorum imperator augustus* with increasing frequency.

Imperial Ideas in Transition, 994–1024

Otto III

Having examined the restoration of and the competition between notions of empire in some detail, I would like to follow the transition and consolidation of imperial ideas. In his *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, Percy Ernst Schramm fashioned a complex interpretation of Otto III's *renovatio imperii Romanorum*, using 'the testimony of signs, symbols, and images' to quote Janos Bak, and stressing the Rome-centredness of his renewal, in both its Christian and secular aspects.[42] In recent years, Schramm's edifice has been reappraised and deconstructed by numerous scholars. Since Schramm's overall methodology, his use of heterogeneous witnesses and images to create a coherent picture, perhaps without enough emphasis on their context or audience, and his emphasis on a secular revival of Roman rule all have been extensively discussed in the literature, I will confine my remarks chiefly to the diplomatic evidence bearing on the renewal of Roman notions of empire.[43]

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[40] Arnold, *Medieval Germany*, p. 86.

[41] Keller, 'Entscheidungssituationen', p. 46.

[42] Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio: Studien und Texte zur Geschichte des römischen Erneuerungsgedanken vom Ende des karolingische Reiches bis zum Investiturstreit*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, 17.1–2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929) [part one, *Studien* (repr., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992), hereafter abbreviated *KR&R: Studien*]; János M. Bak, 'Medieval Symbology of State: Percy E. Schramm's Contribution', *Viator*, 4 (1973), 31–63 (p. 35).

[43] Knut Görich, *Otto III. Romanus, Saxonicus et Italicus: Kaiserliche Rompolitik und sächsische Historiographie*, Historische Forschung, 18 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995), esp. pp. 187–275; Gerd Althoff, *Otto III.* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996),

I would like to review the charter evidence that demonstrates a striking new emphasis on Italy and the development of a new concept of empire, which, at the very least, fused Roman and Christian concepts of empire more tightly together. Beginning in 994 when Otto III reached his majority, he divided his time almost equally between Italy and the north. This represents a dramatic increase in the time the German ruler spent in Italy, certainly beyond that of his father and even his grandfather. Since his second trip to Italy in 997, Otto spent most of his time there with the exception of his famous pilgrimage trip to Gnezno and Aachen. Thus, we see developing notions of returning to Italy and of the two realms merging into a single empire. The royal charters confirm this in various ways. Already prior to his imperial coronation in 996, Otto had appointed the first non-Roman, his cousin Brun, who took the name Gregory V, as the successor to Pope John XV,[44] and immediately after his coronation, his chancery settled on the title *Romanorum imperator augustus*, similar to that of his late father's *intitulatio*.[45] Shortly thereafter, a charter for Freising and one for Salzburg listed as those present for advice and consent Pope Gregory, the Romans, Franks, Bavarians, Saxons, Alsatians, Swabians, and Lotharingians.[46] This shows Otto ruling over a polyethnic empire with the Romans in the first place, and it reminds us of later pictures commissioned by the Emperor.[47]

Beginning in 998, after a period in which Otto may have pondered making Aachen a new Rome, Rome itself became the centre of his interests, and he resided there almost continuously aside from two pilgrimages. Charter evidence confirms 998 as a turning point. For example, on a charter granted to Einsiedeln on 28 April, Otto introduced the famous metal bull carrying the inscription *renovatio imperii Romani* over an idealized likeness, perhaps of Charlemagne, with Rome on the reverse. The use of metal bulls points both to Byzantine and Roman-Papal influence. Apparently, at this time, Byzantine influences, papal/Christian ideas, and Roman ideas were in wide circulation. Otto's concept of *Renovatio* definitely included three aspects: spending more time in Italy and Rome; closer cooperation with the popes; and imitating the

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esp. pp. 114–25; and David Warner, 'Ideals and Action in the Reign of Otto III', *JMH*, 25 (1999), 1–18.

[44] Johann Freidrich Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii 2 (Sächsisches Haus 919–1024)/5: Papstregesten 911–1024*, ed. by Harald Zimmermann (Vienna: Böhlaus, 1969), nos 741, 742 [hereafter abbreviated BZ, e.g. BZ 741].

[45] *Die Urkunden Otton des III.*, ed. by Theodor Sickel, MGH Diplomata König, 2.2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1893), no. 198 [hereafter abbreviated DO III, e.g. DO III 198]. This charter, DO III 198 (22 May 996), records the first use of this title, which then was used intermittently with *imperator augustus* until *Romanorum imperator augustus* became standard usage by the beginning of 997.

[46] DO III 197, 208.

[47] John W. Bernhardt, 'Der Herrscher im Spiegel der Urkunden: Otto III und Heinrich II. im Vergleich', in *Otto III. und Heinrich II.: Eine Wende?*, ed. by Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter, Mittelalter-Forschungen, 1 (Sigmarigen: Thorbecke, 1997), pp. 327–48.

Byzantine emperors in various ways. Imperial charters demonstrate elements of Otto's *renovatio*. Otto built a new palace in Rome, which is mentioned in charters,[48] for which he appointed an imperial count palatine.[49] He took part in church councils and subscribed to papal documents with both Gregory V and then Sylvester II. He surrounded himself with a group of learned advisors and friends — chancellor Heribert, chaplain Leo of Vercelli, and Bishop Gerbert of Ravenna. In April 999, Otto had Gerbert, who selected the significant name of Sylvester II, elected as pope. Two charters of May and October 999 for Vercelli and the monastery of Farfa mention that Otto took counsel with his closest advisors, that the potential of the Roman people was expanded ('propagetur potentia populi Romani'), and that the commonwealth was restored ('restituantur res publica').[50] Possibly using the Byzantine model of an emperor as the head of a family of kings,[51] Otto and his advisors during this period were planning his Lenten pilgrimage to Gnezno and the creation of new relationships within a Christian empire to Poland and Hungary, and, perhaps, to Venice.

Two of the first charters issued after crossing the Alps in January 1000 offer some additional insight. One charter includes the intervention of the *patricius Romanorum*, whom Otto had appointed before leaving Italy.[52] Two weeks earlier in Staffelsee, we have the first use of the famous and striking *intitulatio*: 'Otto III, servant of Christ and august emperor of the Romans according to the will of God, our saviour and liberator',[53] and its use interspersed with the more conventional formula, 'Otto by divine grace, august emperor of the Romans' ('Otto divina favente gratia Romanorum imperator Augustus'), throughout the whole pilgrimage north of the Alps. This stunning *intitulatio* stressed the Roman and Christian elements of his rulership during the pilgrimage as well as the apostolic mission of bringing Poland and Eastern Europe, if we also think of the events in Hungary soon thereafter, more strongly into the fold of the mother Church in the name of Christ.[54] These actions, of course, demonstrate a close cooperation with the papacy.

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[48] DO III 383, 384.

[49] DO III 339.

[50] DO III 324, 331.

[51] Reuter, 'Otto III and the Historians', pp. 24–25. On the concept 'family of kings', see Franz Dölger, 'Die "Familie der Könige" im Mittelalter', *HJB*, 60 (1940), 397–420.

[52] DO III 346.

[53] DO III 344: 'Otto tercius servus Iesu Christi et Romanorum imperator secundum voluntatem Dei Salvatoris nostrique Liberatoris'.

[54] Generally on the interpretation of Otto III's *servus Iesu Christi* title, see Schramm, *KR&R: Studien*, pp. 135–46, and Wolfram, 'Lateinische Herrschertitel', pp. 156–58. János M. Bak, 'Some Recent Thoughts of Historians about Central Europe in 1000 A.D.', *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 6 (2000), 65–70 (esp. p. 70), rightfully stresses that the events in Poland and Hungary in the year 1000 need to be viewed more as a missionary programme than a political one. This alteration of vision would not diminish Otto III's imperial notions or programme, but actually would relate better to the 'spirit' of it.

After the pilgrimage of 1000, Otto's *intitulatio* changed again. Four new, interesting, and well-known titles emerge: (1) 'Otto III according to the will of Jesus Christ, august emperor of the Romans and most devoted and faithful propagator of the holy church';[55] (2) 'Otto servant of the apostles and according to the will of God the saviour, august emperor of the Romans';[56] (3) 'Otto III, Roman, Saxon, and Italian servant of the apostles, by the gift of God august emperor of the Roman world';[57] and (4) 'Otto III, servant of the apostles, and august emperor of the Romans'.[58] I would like to make a few observations. As Herwig Wolfram has indicated, the use of *dilatator*, implying propagator of the faith, must refer to the recent events in Poland and Hungary; and the reformulation from *servus Iesu Christi* (see note 53) to *servus apostolorum* must be deliberate probably to designate how Otto saw himself working together with the papacy in Italy upon his return.[59] The first use of this *intitulatio*, of course, occurs in the famous charter no. 389 — the grant of eight counties to Pope Sylvester — which also contains the noteworthy arenga, 'We acknowledge Rome to be the head of the world, and testify that the Roman church is the mother of all churches, though by the carelessness and ignorance of its bishops the claims of its fame have been obscured for a long time.'[60] As the late Timothy Reuter suggested, this arenga should be seen not to denigrate the papacy but rather to include it in Otto's renewal of the Christian Roman Empire.[61] The *intitulatio* 'Otto tercius Romanus, Saxonicus et Italicus' (No. 390) is particularly significant, especially if one accepts the very convincing arguments of Hartmut Hoffmann that Otto dictated this charter himself.[62] Numerous attempts have been made to decide exactly what, if anything, Otto and his chancery meant by all of this novelty, and perhaps we will never know exactly.

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[55] DO III 388: 'Otto tercius secundum voluntatem Iesu Christi Romanorum imperator augustus sanctarumque ecclesiarum devotissimus et fidelissimus dilatator'.

[56] DO III 389: 'Otto servus apostolorum et secundum voluntatem Dei Salvatoris Romanorum imperator augustus'.

[57] DO III 390: 'Otto tercius Romanus, Saxonicus et Italicus apostolorum servus, dono Dei Romani orbis imperator augustus'.

[58] DO III 391: 'Otto [tercius] servus apostolorum Romanorum imperator et augustus'.

[59] On the interpretation of Otto III's *servus apostolorum* title, see Schramm, *KR&R: Studien*, pp. 157–60, Wolfram, 'Lateinische Herrschertitel', pp. 158–60, and Gunther Wolf, 'Das politische Erbe der Kaiserin Theophanu – oder: Otto III. Konzeption eines "Europäischen Staatensystems"', in *Kaiserin Theophanu: Prinzessin aus der Fremde – des Westreichs Große Kaiserin*, ed. by Gunther Wolf (Cologne: Böhlau, 1991), pp. 106–40, esp. pp. 124–26.

[60] DO III 389: 'Romam caput mundi profitemur, Romam ecclesiam matrem omnium ecclesiarum esse testamur, sed incuria et inscientia pontificum longe sue claritatis titulos obfuscasse.'

[61] Reuter, 'Otto III and the Historians', p. 28.

[62] Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Eigendiktat in den Urkunden Ottos III. und Heinrichs II.', *DA*, 44 (1988), 390–423 (pp. 392–97).

Nevertheless, I would not dismiss these statements as pure rhetoric. Rather, I would agree with Herwig Wolfram and Reuter that chanceries normally were very conservative, as were titles.[63] Consequently, the sheer variety of changes in the charters shows, to quote Reuter, 'that the nature of Otto's rule was a matter of intense discussion at this period'.[64] These changes at least hint at a new concept of empire. While the charters document for us that some of these changes had occurred, other sources — the *Life of St Bernward* and Brun of Querfurt's *Lives of the Five Brothers* — tell us that Otto's activities caused real consternation both in Italy and north of the Alps. As with all significant changes, substantial criticism did exist. Yet, beyond all the contradictions and rhetoric, the meaning of empire seems to have expanded, fusing more intensely the ancient Roman and Christian concepts of empire. Moreover, Otto III appears to have intended to rule over an extensive Christian Roman Empire.[65]

Henry II

Under Otto III's successor, Henry II, we find some elements of continuity in imperial ideas as well as some striking innovations. As Stefan Weinfurter and I have shown elsewhere, Henry II's reign was characterized by an intensified notion of divinely ordained rulership, and Henry devised many schema in different media to represent and legitimize this notion.[66] With Henry, I shall confine myself primarily to diplomatic evidence and one stunning portrait. I would like to begin with three striking differences between the reigns of Henry II and Otto III. Henry ruled twenty-two years but only spent a year and a half in Italy. Moreover, although he did use a metal bull already as King in 1003, it contained the inscription *renovatio regni francorum*, immediately abandoning any Roman reference.[67] Some have argued, however, that, regardless of the specific inscription, merely using a metal bull at this

[63] Wolfram, 'Lateinische Herrschertitel', pp. 153–62, and Timothy Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages, c. 800–1056* (London: Longman, 1991), pp. 274–75.

[64] Reuter, 'Otto III and the Historians', p. 28.

[65] Bernhardt, 'Herrscher im Spiegel', pp. 334–35, who cites all of the pertinent sources and literature.

[66] Stefan Weinfurter, 'Der Anspruch Heinrichs II. auf die Königsherrschaft 1002', in *Papstgeschichte und Landesgeschichte: Festschrift für Hermann Jakobs zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Joachim Dahlhaus and Armin Kohnle (Cologne: Böhlau, 1995), pp. 121–34; Weinfurter, 'Sakralkönigtum und Herrschaftsbegründung', pp. 84–103, and Bernhardt, 'Herrscher im Spiegel', pp. 342–48.

[67] *Die Urkunden Heinrichs II. und Arduini Diplomata*, ed. by Harry Bresslau, Hermann Bloch, and Robert Holtzmann, MGH Diplomata König, 3 (Hannover: Hahn, 1900–03), no. 34 [hereafter abbreviated DH II, e.g. DH II 34]. See Karl Foltz, 'Die Siegel der deutschen Könige und Kaiser aus dem sächsischen Hause 911–1024', *NA*, 3 (1877–78), 9–45 (pp. 43–45); Werner Ohnsorge, 'Die Legation des Kaisers Basileios II. an Heinrich II', *HJB*, 73 (1954), 61–73.

early date in his reign itself implied a future claim to the emperorship. Even after acquiring the imperial crown in 1014, Henry's notions of empire focused much less on Rome and more on the notion of an *imperium christianum*. Already in 1007 an isolated and interesting new *intitulatio* appears: 'Henry with the clemency of divine favor, unconquerable King of the Romans'.[68] While the charter itself seems to have been drawn up in 1017 or 1021, it appears that this *intitulatio* was borrowed from an earlier charter of 1007. Moreover, Wolfgang Christian Schneider, using a thorough analysis of several charters of recipient issue from Italy, demonstrates that the title *Romanorum rex* apparently emerged even earlier, in 1004, along with the title *rex Francorum et Langobardorum*, in response to Henry II's contention with Arduin over the kingship of Italy. Henry's new title, *Romanorum rex*, represents an elevation of the imperial title that gave his rulership a 'Roman' quality, thereby linking him to the earlier Ottonians and indicating his eventual claim to the emperorship, while excluding Arduin from any such claim. Later, this title was used by Conrad II and the Salians without reference to a specific historical event to indicate specific relations to Italy and then to symbolize their 'right' upon royal election to a claim to the emperorship.[69] Also in terms of expanding the idea and the extent of the empire, one should not forget that Henry II, as the nephew of the childless King Rudolf III of Burgundy, began negotiations in 1006 that were finalized in 1018 to become the heir to the kingdom of Burgundy should his uncle die before him. While this did not come to fruition for Henry II himself because he died before his uncle, his successor, Conrad II, used Henry's negotiated arrangements with Burgundy as one legal basis to gain the kingdom of Burgundy as a third part of the empire.[70]

As the three Ottos before him, Henry II was called upon in 1012–13 to intervene to protect the pope. By April 1013, Pope Benedict VIII had sent a legate to Germany offering the imperial office, and Henry began to plan his second trip to Italy and his first to Rome. As Weinfurter has shown, the portrait of Henry II in the Bamberg *Pericopes* book, which was presented at Bamberg in October 1013 on Henry's way to

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[68] DH II 170: 'Heinricus divina favente clementia Romanorum invictissimus rex'.

[69] Wolfgang Christian Schneider, 'Heinrich II. als *Romanorum Rex*', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 67 (1987), 421–45. For an overview of the situation in northern Italy from 1001 to 1004, see Ursula Brunhofer, *Arduin von Ivrea und seine Anhänger: Untersuchungen zum letzten italienischen Königtum des Mittelalters* (Augsburg: Arethousa, 1997), pp. 188–203, who ably surveys and synthesizes the older literature. Compare Gunther Wolf, 'Der sogenannte "Gegenkönig" Arduin von Ivrea (ca. 955–1015)', *AfD*, 39 (1993), 19–34, who sees Henry II as the anti-king and Arduin as the legitimate ruler. Specifically on Henry II's titles, see Brigitte Merta, 'Die Titel Heinrichs II. und der Salier', in *Intitulatio*, vol. III: *Lateinische Herschertitel und Herrschertitulaturen vom 7. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Herwig Wolfram, Anton Scharer, and Harald Kleinschmidt, MIÖG Ergänzungsband, 29 (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau, 1988), pp. 163–72.

[70] Stefan Weinfurter, *Heinrich II. Herrscher am Ende der Zeiten* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1999), pp. 220–22.

the imperial coronation, strikingly demonstrates that Henry's idea of empire was being formulated (Figure 4). The picture has two main levels. In the upper level Henry, bearing a sceptre and a globe, and Queen Kunigunde, accompanied by Saints Peter and Paul, the patrons of the Christian emperor, are crowned by Christ. Below them appear three provinces, Gallia, Roma, and Germania, paying homage. Situated between Gallia and Germania, Roma wears a crown made from a city wall and extends the globus, the symbol of imperial rule, upward to Henry. Thus, this miniature of 1013 already contains imperial symbology and mirrors ideas that had already developed around Henry II prior to his imperial coronation.[71] Henry finally arrived in Rome in February 1014 and received the imperial coronation on 14 February. During the ceremony Benedict VIII presented him with a golden sphere or globus, which seems to have combined notions of both Roman and Christian universal empire. It later became a standard part of the imperial regalia.[72] As Weinfurter has observed: 'Henry later presented this orb to the monastery of Cluny, thereby giving the care of this symbol of his divine mandate to an especially holy place.'[73] Immediately after his imperial coronation, Henry II bore the title of his predecessor, *Romanorum imperator augustus*.[74] Yet, the second *intitulatio* that we find after Henry's imperial coronation shows both another innovation and an indication of the Christian-centredness of his imperial concept. It reads, 'Henry servant of the servants of Christ and august emperor of the Romans according to the will of God our saviour and liberator'.[75]

This title, borrowed from a charter of Otto III, in which he titled himself *servus Jesu Christi*,[76] echoes the papal title *servus servorum dei*, and reveals Henry II's inclinations to ecclesiastical and spiritual reform, the emperor as reformer of the Christian body politic.[77] Henry II already had solid credentials as a Church reformer north of the Alps. After attaining the imperial office, Henry II, in cooperation with Pope Benedict VIII, intensified his reforming activity. They held great reforming synods together in Rome in 1014, at Bamberg in 1020, and, finally, in Pavia in 1022. Thus, the Emperor and the Pope, in a new intensified spirit of cooperation, directed their attentions to Christian *renovatio* by actively and jointly engaging in efforts of ecclesiastical reform and imperial renewal. One of these reforming synods, the

[71] Weinfurter, *Heinrich II.*, pp. 235–36.

[72] On the imperial golden sphere or so-called *Reichsapfel*, see the classic work by Percy Ernst Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel: Wanderung und Wandlung eines Herrschaftszeichens von Caesar bis zu Elisabeth II; ein Beitrag zum 'Nachleben' der Antike* (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1958).

[73] Weinfurter, *Heinrich II*., p. 238.

[74] DH II 283.

[75] DH II 284: 'Heinricus servus servorum Christi et Romanorum imperator augustus secundum volutatem dei salvaltoris nostrique liberatoris'.

[76] DO III 375.

[77] Ullmann, *Growth of Papal Government*, pp. 246–49.

TRACTANDO IUSTUM · DISCERNITE SEMPER HONESTV·
UTILE CONUENIAT · CONSULTUM LEGIS UT OPTAT ·
SOLUIMUS ECCE TIBI · REX CENSUM IURE PERENNI ·
CLEMENS ESTO TUUS · NOS REDDIMUS ISTA QUOTANNIS ·

Figure 4. Christ Crowning Henry II and Kunigunde.

Bamberg Easter Synod of 1020 held special significance directed at Byzantium. First, the Pope came personally seeking protection against the Byzantine incursions south of Rome. Thus, similar to the Byzantine emperors, who had compelled ecclesiastical authorities to come to them, Henry, whose imperial consciousness had grown immensely, had the Pope come to him at the bishopric of Bamberg, the 'new Rome' that Henry himself had founded and endowed lavishly.[78] There the Pope was received with great pomp and ceremony and Henry promised him protection. Symbolic of this protection, Henry II reissued the *Ottonianum* to the papacy in a purple charter in gold ink, commonly called the *Heinricianum*, sealed with a golden bull.[79] Imperial protection of Rome and ecclesiastical reform joined in the person of the Emperor. In fact, when Henry II had met with King Robert the Pious of France in 1023 and apprised him of his plans for Church reform, they then planned an upcoming council in Pavia in which Pope Benedict also would participate.[80] This planned 'imperial' church council came to naught, however, as both Henry II and Benedict VIII died in the next year.

Conclusion

Otto I had drawn on many different, and even competing, concepts of empire in the mid-tenth century. Moreover, he had to take his specific political situation into consideration before he was able to participate in the re-creation of the empire in the West in 962. Increasingly thereafter, he was drawn to Byzantine notions of empire and attempted to counter Byzantine imperial claims in southern Italy. Otto II expanded both Roman and Byzantine representations of empire and intensified his father's attempts to establish imperial hegemony over Italy. Later under Otto III, both Rome-centred and Byzantine imperial practices reached their height. At the same time, we also see an ensuing transformation with a new intensification of ideas of Christian *renovatio* and imperial missionary activity.

Indeed, the notion of Christian *renovatio* became the main controlling concept under Henry II. Except for a short campaign in 1021–22 against the Byzantines in southern Italy, Henry granted dominion in Rome and over southern Italy to the papacy with the *Heinricianum* of 1020. Instead of upon Italy, Henry focused his

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[78] On Bamberg as a 'new Rome', see Weinfurter, *Heinrich II*., pp. 263–68.

[79] DH II 427. On the Bamberg Easter Synod and the *Heinricianum*, see Weinfurter, *Heinrich II*., pp. 242–45.

[80] *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* 4.37, ed. by Ludwig Bethmann, MGH SS, 7 (Hannover: Anton Hiersemann, 1846), p. 480. Hartmut Hoffmann, *Mönchskönig und rex idiota: Studien zur Kirchenpolitik Heinrichs II. und Konrads II*, MGH Studien und Texte, 8 (Hannover: Hahn, 1993), pp. 50–60, provides an excellent brief overview of Henry II's endeavours in church reform.

imperial notions foremost on Christian *renovatio*, expanding ideas of the emperor as the reformer of the Christian body politic in active cooperation with the papacy, and in a lesser, but important degree, on establishing a basis for the expansion of the empire to include Burgundy. Drawing and building upon these manifold ideas and practices, the Salians fashioned their high medieval concept of empire. This consisted of claiming a right to universal emperorship based upon their royal election (*Romanorum rex*), intensifying both Roman imperial ideas as well as those of Christian *renovatio*, and creating a real tripartite territorial empire, consisting of Germany, Italy, and Burgundy, that gradually stood side by side with the idea of a universal Christian empire. One can find the beginnings of all these elements, however, in the experimentation with notions of empire under the Ottonian rulers.

German Historiography and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance

SVERRE BAGGE

The Idea of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance

The term the Twelfth-Century Renaissance is commonly associated with Charles Homer Haskins's book from 1927[1] which challenged the widespread notion, going back to Jacob Burckhardt, of the Italian Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as one of the great turning-points in European history.[2] Actually, Haskins was not the first to do this, but he had a greater impact than his predecessors, to the extent that the Twelfth-Century Renaissance became part of the established orthodoxy among medievalists and at least managed to compete with the 'traditional' Renaissance among non-medievalists. In this latter respect, Haskins's Twelfth-Century Renaissance differs from earlier periods, such as the Carolingian one, which have also received this label.[3] Classical — mainly Roman — Antiquity

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[1] Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (New York: Meridian Books, 1957; orig. 1927). See also *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Toronto: Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991; orig. 1982), based on a conference arranged on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of Haskins's book.

[2] Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (Stuttgart: A. Kröner Verlag, 1988; orig. 1860). On the historiography of these renaissances until the mid-twentieth century, see Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1948).

[3] Erna Patzelt, *Die Karolingische Renaissance* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1965; orig. 1923) rejects the concept of a Carolingian Renaissance in favour of an idea of a continuity between Antiquity and the Middle Ages which even includes the Merovingian period, often referred to as a particularly dark age. Giles Brown, 'Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance', in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. by Rosamond

was a source of inspiration throughout the Middle Ages, although in some periods the revival of this heritage was more prominent and explicit than in others. Pure reproduction of Classical Antiquity is not sufficient to make a turning-point in European history.

The novelty in Haskins's concept was not the positive view of the Middle Ages; such a view had been common enough in the nineteenth century, among historians — including Burckhardt — as well as philosophers, theologians, writers of fiction, artists, and others. It was, however, most common among conservatives who regarded the Middle Ages as an ideal precisely because it was not modern, but hierarchical, authoritarian, and religious. By contrast, Haskins's Twelfth-Century Renaissance resembled the 'real' Renaissance in anticipating individualism, secularism, and rational and scientific thought. Haskins and his followers were modern, liberal, and secular, or at least not Catholic. Haskins had his background in constitutional and administrative history, which enabled him to conclude that medieval people were not simply superstitious, hysterical, and focused on heaven and hell, but also practical and secular and interested in the good life and the world around them. To Haskins, the study of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance meant leaving aside most of the religious material and focusing on what contemporary people were able to achieve despite this heavy burden.

The Twelfth-Century Renaissance has undergone important changes since Haskins's days. Less importance has been attached to the discovery of new texts and more to the intellectual needs that made people look for new texts, and above all, the idea of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance as a secular movement has been weakened. The study of theology and canon law has had a revival, to the extent that a recent article has concluded that the new trends in theology were the most important aspect of the movement.[4] Thus, the adjective 'secular' should be replaced by 'rational'.

Haskins's constitutional and administrative history had its origin in England where F. W. Maitland was the great figure around the turn of the century, and in a wider perspective the Twelfth-Century Renaissance should be regarded as mainly an English-American interpretation.[5] This is no coincidence. England is the major European country whose constitution, institutions, legal system, and culture shows

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McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 1–51, also points to the reform aspect and the continuity with the previous period. For a general discussion of the various renaissances, mainly based on art, see Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascenses in Western Art* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1960), pp. 42–113.

[4] Marcia Colish, 'Haskins' *Renaissance* Seventy Years Later: Beyond Anti-Burckhardtianism', *Haskins Society Journal*, 11 (1998), 1–15; cf. also Harold J. Berman, *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983) and Toby E. Huff, *The Rise of Early Modern Science: Islam, China, and the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[5] For the following, see Norman F. Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages* (New York: Quill, 1991), pp. 48–78, 245–86, 337–70.

the most direct continuity with the Middle Ages and, consequently, where it would seem most natural to regard the Middle Ages as enlightened and liberal. Even the Reformation meant a far less drastic change than in other Protestant countries. Thus, it still seems that the idea of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance is more widespread in Britain and the United States than in the rest of the Western world, although a number of important studies come from France, the country that is usually regarded as the birthplace of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance.[6] The attitude to the concept among historians of the Annales School has been more mixed. On the one hand, they largely seem to have abolished the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, replacing it with a 'long Middle Ages' from the rise of feudal society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries until the French Revolution. On the other hand, there has been a tendency within this school, particularly within the *mentalité* tradition, to focus more on the difference between the Middle Ages and our own age than on the 'modern' trends of the epoch. This latter interpretation has partly inspired the recent revival of the 'dark' Middle Ages, which has its main centre in the United States where it forms the very antithesis of the Haskins tradition and the idea of the 'bright' Middle Ages prevailing in most of twentieth-century scholarship.[7]

The strong medievalist tradition in Germany has been less influenced by the idea of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance. To German medievalists, the Middle Ages were less rational and liberal and closer to the picture dominating in the nineteenth century. While English and American medievalists discussed the origins of Parliament and the Common Law, Germans like Schramm and Kantorowicz discussed charismatic lordship and the rites of unction and coronation.[8] This tendency was enforced in the interwar period with the rise of Nazism which directly opposed the

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[6] Étienne Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1955); Marie-Dominique Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle* (Paris: Vrin, 1957) and *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); Jacques Le Goff, *Les intellectuels au moyen age* (Paris: Seuil, 1957) and 'What Did the Twelfth-Century Renaissance Mean?', in *The Medieval World*, ed. by Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 635–47.

[7] Paul Freedman and Gabrielle Spiegel, 'Medievalisms Old and New: The Rediscovery of Alterity in North American Medieval Studies', *American Historical Review*, 102 (1998), 677–704.

[8] E.g. Ernst Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich II* (Berlin: Bondi, 1931) and *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957); Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio: Studien und Texte zur Geschichte des römischen Erneuerungsgedankens vom Ende des karolingischen Reiches bis zum Investiturstreit* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929; repr., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992) and *Der König von Frankreich: das Wesen der Monarchie vom 9. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert; ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte des abendländischen Staates* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960; orig. 1939).

attempt to find the origin of modern democracy in the Middle Ages, instead celebrating personal loyalty and the 'Personenverbandstaat'. It is characteristic that the famous Renaissance scholar Hans Baron, a German refugee making most of his career in the United States, developed his ideas of Civic Humanism in the Italian Renaissance in direct opposition to the cult of the Middle Ages in Germany in the 1930s.

Haskins devoted a whole chapter of his book to historical writing, regarding it as 'one of the best expressions of the intellectual revival of the twelfth century'.[9] However, this historiography was neither particularly secular nor very much influenced by classical sources, except for the Latin style, nor did it really focus on the individual but rather portrayed its protagonists as types. The renaissance mainly consisted of a far greater literary output than in previous periods and in a greater variety of genres, for example, universal history, the history of various institutions, and biography and hagiography. The greatest novelty brought forward by this genre came at the very end of the period, that is, the rise of vernacular historiography, written by laymen for a lay audience and consequently an important step in the secular direction. Later studies of medieval historiography have somewhat modified this picture, linking the genre to more central aspects of the Twelfth Century Renaissance, the 'discovery of the individual', a new consciousness of history expressed in the idea of development, and a more rational and secular attitude.[10]

The most important tradition in the study of medieval historiography is the German one, which has been little influenced by the idea of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance but which has mostly dealt with historiography in close connection with theology and philosophy, emphasizing its specifically medieval aspects, the history of salvation and the use of allegory and typology, as well as the influence from classical rhetoric.[11] Naturally, this tradition has been particularly concerned with the German historiographical tradition, which at least in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries is the most innovative and interesting in the whole of Western Christendom but which has received relatively little attention outside Germany. Conse-

[9] Haskins, *Renaissance*, p. 224.

[10] R. W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing 2. Hugh of St Victor and the Idea of Historical Development', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 22 (1971), 159–79; Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987; orig. 1972); Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 215–16.

[11] See e.g. *Geschichtsdenken und Geschichtsbild im Mittelalter*, ed. by Walther Lammers (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965); Helmut Beumann, *Ideengeschichtliche Studien zu Einhard und anderen Geschichtsschreiber der frühen Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962); Hans-Werner Goetz, *Das Geschichtsbild Ottos von Freising* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1984) and *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbild im hohen Mittelalter* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1999); Franz-Josef Schmale, *Funktion und Formen mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreibung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985).

quently, it may be a good idea to look at this tradition once more from the point of view of the features usually associated with the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: secularism, rationalism, the representation of the individual, and the classical tradition. This shall be done by examining three works, Lampert of Hersfeld's *Annales* (*c.* 1077–80), the anonymous *Vita Heinrici Quarti* (1106/07), and Otto of Freising's *Gesta Frederici* (1157/58).[12] As for the former, which strictly speaking does not belong to the twelfth century, it must be pointed out that already Haskins maintained that the Twelfth-Century Renaissance began in the eleventh century and that this idea has been developed by his successors.[13]

Lampert of Hersfeld

Lampert was a monk in the imperial monastery of Hersfeld which generally sided with King Henry IV in the Investiture Contest. Lampert himself, however, was a strong opponent of Henry and favoured the aristocratic opposition against him. The *Annales*[14] was probably composed between 1077 and 1080, in other words during one of the most intense phases of the Investiture Contest. The work starts with the creation of the world but mainly contains short notices until the mid-eleventh century, after which it gradually becomes more detailed. Around half of the work deals with the years 1073–77, that is, from the first Saxon rebellion until the election of the anti-king Rudolf of Swabia in March 1077. Here Lampert changes from annalistic notices to continuous and often very detailed and vivid narrative. This part of the work has received the most scholarly attention and is also the main cause for Lampert's reputation as a writer and a historian. While he is universally praised in the former capacity, opinions are divided regarding the latter, notably because of the objections that have been raised against his reliability.[15]

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[12] For a more detailed examination of these works, see Sverre Bagge, *Kings, Politics and the Right Order of the World in German Historiography c. 950–1150* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 231–407.

[13] See most recently C. Stephen Jaeger, 'Pessimism in the Twelfth Century "Renaissance"', *Speculum*, 78 (2003), 1151–83, who, pointing to the contemporary intellectuals' pessimism about their own age, wants to abolish the term 'Twelfth-Century Renaissance' and instead focus more strongly on the eleventh century.

[14] *Lamperti Annales*, in *Lamperti Monachi Hersfeldensis Opera*, ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 38 (Hannover: Hahn, 1894), pp. 1–304 [hereafter cited as *LA*].

[15] Most severely by his editor, Holder-Egger: see his 'Praefatio' to the edition and 'Studien über Lampert von Hersfeld', *NA*, 19 (1894), 141–213, 369–430, 507–74. Recent scholars have taken a more moderate position, notably Tilman Struve, 'Lambert von Hersfeld: Persönlichkeit und Weltbild eines Geschichtsschreibers am Beginn des Investiturstreites', *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, 19 (1969), 1–123 [cited hereafter as Lampert I] and 20 (1970) pp. 32–142 [cited hereafter as Lampert II]. See also Bagge, *Kings*, pp. 235–36.

From a stylistic point of view, Lampert has been characterized as 'a Livian historian'. He was very familiar with Livy's First Decade, which he probably knew from his study in Bamberg, one of the best schools of contemporary Germany. His text shows a number of stylistic parallels to Livy and other Roman historians,[16] and his Latin, inspired by Livy, has been admired since the sixteenth century. As for his understanding of Livy's ideas and the Roman world, students of Lampert have tended to draw the same conclusion as Haskins and Southern about medieval historiography in general: Livy was only a stylistic model; Lampert shows no understanding of the Roman world.[17] However, Lampert's main theme in the *Annales* is very similar to that of Livy in Book I, namely the struggle against tyranny. While Livy's Romans rebel against Tarquinius Superbus, Lampert's Saxons rebel against Henry IV. Is this parallel wholly coincidental?

One of Lampert's most explicit discussions of what was at stake in the Saxon rebellion comes in his account of why Otto of Northeim, one of the most powerful magnates at the time, who for some time had moved between the parties, finally decided to join the Saxons against the King in August 1076,[18] when not only the Saxons but most of Germany had turned against him, following his excommunication by Pope Gregory VII. Lampert's account partly takes the form of Otto's reasoning in direct speech, partly of the author's own comments. Otto knows that the Saxon cause is just and has for long tried in vain to persuade the King to agree to a peaceful settlement which would have enabled him to enjoy the service of this wealthy people. Otto's reasoning concludes with a succinct statement about the difference between a tyrant and a king: while the tyrant forces obedience from the unwilling by violence and cruelty, the king governs his subjects according to the laws and the customs of the fathers and teaches them what to do.[19] Lampert now turns to speaking in his own voice, explaining the King's stubbornness by his upbringing and royal — in the negative sense — character, particularly emphasizing his use of low-born people as counsellors at the cost of the princes who ought to have this position. This passage sums up most of the main charges against Henry, and at the same time leads smoothly back to Otto's reasoning: addressing Bishop Ekbert of Zeitz, Otto points out that he has advised the King to act to serve his own honour as well as the interests of the state,[20] but that the King has instead listened to

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[16] See the lists in *Lamperti Opera*, ed. by Holder-Egger, pp. 399–489, and Guido Billanovich, *Lamperto di Hersfeld e Tito Livio*, Opuscoli academici editi a cura della facoltà di lettere e filosofia dall' Università di Padova. Serie liviana, 8 (Padova: CEDAM, 1945).

[17] Struve, 'Lampert II', pp. 83–87.

[18] *LA*, pp. 270–71.

[19] 'Hanc regis et tiranni esse distantiam, quod hic vi et crudelitate obedientiam extorqueat ab invitis, ille legibus ac more maiorum moderetur subiectis precipiatque facienda' (*LA*, p. 270).

[20] 'Se regi, quod honori eius, quod commodo rei publicae competeret, suggessisse' (*LA*, p. 271).

his low-born flatterers. Consequently, Otto will no longer be responsible for the King's actions, and he no longer considers himself bound by his oath and by religion to obey the King. On the contrary, he will now embrace the just cause of his people and defend it with the use of arms. The passage ends with Lampert's comment that the other princes of Saxony and Thuringia made the same declaration. The passage has an important function in the narrative, not only in indicating the motives of one of Lampert's heroes, but also in summarizing the opposition's political programme and explaining the necessity for rebellion against the tyrant.

Otto's speech as well as other passages in Lampert express a 'political' concept of the tyrant, in contrast to the often religious and generally vague concept in many contemporary authors, including Pope Gregory VII.[21] Henry rules unjustly and arbitrarily, instead of adhering to the laws and the *mores maiorum*. He surrounds himself with low-born flatterers, instead of the great men of the realm. He fails to adhere to the 'rules of the game' in taking revenge over the Saxons after their first defeat in 1075, and by arbitrarily confiscating a magnate's — actually Otto of Northeim's — estates with the argument that all property in the country belongs to the ruler. This description corresponds in several respects to the picture of the tyrant in ancient sources, including Livy. In particular, the contrast between the great men and the low-born flatterers can be regarded as an illustration of the famous episode in Livy where Tarquinius teaches his son how to rule by cutting the heads of all the tallest poppies.[22] Moreover, Lampert not only offers a portrait of the tyrant, he also expresses a clear idea of how the realm should be governed, that is, according to the laws and the *mores maiorum*, through a cooperation between the king and the great men. And even more: not only is it the king's duty to rule by these men's consent; the royal office itself does not belong to the king alone but to the king and the great men together.[23] Consequently, the Saxon and later the all-German rebellion are intended to defend the royal office against the King. It is also striking that the monk Lampert's main explanation of the rebellion against Henry IV is political rather than religious. He refers to Gregory VII and his reform programme respectfully but not uncritically, and he mentions ecclesiastical institutions suffering under Henry's tyranny, but his main emphasis is on the secular opposition against Henry and its political arguments.

To what extent Livy is the source of this interpretation of the conflict is an open question. Political ideas are not only derived from books; they may be formulated on the basis of practical experience. Lampert's ideas must certainly be understood in light of his aristocratic background, and his 'rules of the game' to some extent correspond

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[21] I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978), pp. 131–35, and Bagge, *Kings*, p. 285.

[22] Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita libri* I.54, ed. by Robert Conway and Charles Walters (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1914).

[23] Bagge, *Kings*, pp. 283–88.

to what must have been normal practice in the previous period. The king was a kind of *primus inter pares*; he was supposed to have close contacts with nobles and magnates, gathering them around him for eating, drinking, hunting, and discussing on his frequent journeys through the country, and seeking their advice on important matters. Armed conflicts between these men, and even between some of them and the king, was a normal phenomenon, but were conducted with relative moderation and ended with a compromise or the honourable surrender of the defeated party, who was then to be treated leniently and normally restored to his power after a certain period of time.[24] These rules, however, were changing in Lampert's age. Henry regarded his adversaries as rebels and punished them strictly, while his Saxon and other opponents regarded him as a tyrant, partly but not solely under the influence of Gregory VII's excommunication and the growth of the Gregorian reform movement. Part of the explanation for this change must be sought in the greater importance of the idea of the monarchy as an institution and of the king governing his realm on God's behalf in the previous period. These ideas were not new in themselves — they go back to late Antiquity — but had assumed greater practical importance with the stabilization of the German monarchy in the Ottonian and Salian periods. As a consequence of this ideology, rebellion against the king was defined as a serious crime. Consequently, it was not enough to have a personal conflict with the king to take up arms against him; the king himself must have abused his power. This is Lampert's problem which he tries to solve through his 'classical' concept of the tyrant. Livy may not necessarily be Lampert's source for this concept, but Lampert's ideas nevertheless show that he could hardly have regarded Livy only as a stylistic model, but must have seen the parallel between the struggle in which he was himself engaged and that of the Romans against Tarquinius. He may even have used Livy as a model precisely because of this common ideology.

Thus, Lampert may form one example of Haskins's 'secular' renaissance, linking a revival of political thought to a new interest in Roman history. Lampert may also, however, serve as an example of the renewal of legal thought in the period. He not only tells the story of the rebellion against Henry; he also gives relatively detailed accounts of other rebellions which serve as its contrasts, thus contributing to the discussion of when rebellions can be justified and not. An early Saxon rebellion (1057) is the result of some Saxons wanting revenge for Henry III's behaviour towards them, plus a pretender's personal ambition, and is fortunately put down.[25] When the monks of Fulda rebel against their abbot, they have good reasons for complaining. Nevertheless, their action is not justified, because the abbot is willing to listen to their complaints, as the older and wiser monks eventually understand.[26]

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[24] Timothy Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages c. 800–1056* (London: Longman, 1991), pp. 191–220; Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997), pp. 22–56.

[25] *LA*, pp. 70–72.

[26] *LA*, pp. 85–87.

Most importantly, Lampert includes a long story of the burghers of Cologne rebelling against their archbishop, Anno, who is one of Lampert's main heroes.[27] The rebellion takes place in the year 1074, between the two phases of the Saxon rebellion. This, together with the detailed description and Lampert's clear condemnation of the rebels, serves to point out the contrast between them and the Saxons. First, the reason for this rebellion is trivial, the Archbishop having made use of a ship belonging to a burgher in order to bring his guest, the Bishop of Münster, home. Second, the burghers act spontaneously, believing all kinds of rumours and adopting the phrases of the Saxon struggle for liberty without really understanding their meaning. They become the caricature of the Saxon people. Apart from the fact that the Saxons are justified in their rebellion while the Colonians are not, the Saxons are disciplined and well governed — by their princes — and adopt the right procedure. They discuss the matter calmly and rationally; they present their complaints to the King; and they do not resort to arms until it has become quite clear that the King rejects their claims. When they finally do take up arms, however, they know what they are doing, being brave men and trained for war, unlike the Colonians, who only know war from boasting over the wine-cups. Third, this contrast between the Saxons and the Colonians also throws light on the objects of their respective rebellions, King Henry versus Archbishop Anno, the tyrant versus the *rex iustus*: as we shall see, Anno actually serves as Lampert's model ruler.

Through this collection of examples of just and unjust rebellions Lampert distances himself from the current idea that violence is a normal means of solving conflicts, even between the ruler and his subjects. In this respect, Lampert continues the development in the official ideology as well as in historiography of the king holding his office on God's behalf and thus representing an objective justice above the parties. In Lampert's opinion, rebellion against a lawful ruler is normally a sin and can only be defended as the last resort when the ruler himself has acted contrary to the justice it is his duty to defend. Although adhering to the genre of historiography, Lampert's rendering of these stories clearly emphasizes the legal and moral differences between examples in a way resembling the use of legal cases in Gratian and his successors.

Lampert's work also contains a number of portraits of individual persons, the most important of which are those of King Henry and his contrast, Archbishop Anno of Cologne. In contrast to his contemporary Bruno, Lampert gives no explicit portrait of Henry in the form of a *notatio*.[28] He describes his actions and decisions one by one, occasionally referring to his moral corruption, most notably in the passage immediately before the Saxon rebellion, where he states that Archbishop Anno's

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[27] *LA*, pp. 185–93.

[28] On Lampert's description of Henry's character, see Rudolf Teuffel, *Individuelle Persönlichkeitsschilderung in den deutschen Geschichtswerken des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, 12 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1914), pp. 26–30. Teuffel rightly points to Lampert's skill in giving indirect characterisations, but he is hardly correct in claiming that Henry's person is really the main theme of the *Annales*.

retirement gave Henry free rein to indulge in his vices.[29] At least on the surface, Lampert thus seems to be more concerned with actions than with inner nature or the 'core of the personality', although he may also have intended the numerous examples of Henry's evil actions to form an overall picture of his character. Already at an early age, Henry demonstrates his characteristic ability to deceive, dealing amiably with the Thuringians before going to war against them. Later, he shows the same behaviour towards the Saxons. On other occasions, however, he is short-tempered. Receiving the Saxon delegation and hearing their complaints, he is enraged, and only the intervention of his counsellors prevents him from breaking off the negotiations and going to war at once.[30] He is suspicious of his subjects, particularly the great men, as demonstrated in his behaviour towards Otto of Northeim and Rudolf of Swabia. Henry shocks his contemporaries by attempting to get a divorce from his wife, and Lampert also sometimes refers to him as lecherous, but does not enter into any detail at this point, in contrast to Bruno who depicts him as a sexual maniac. In dealing with ecclesiastical matters, he is a simoniac[31] who imposes a number of bad servants on the German Church. During the subsequent conflict with the Saxons, he increasingly demonstrates his cruelty, vindictiveness, untrustworthiness, and lack of chivalrous behaviour. Thus Lampert offers ample evidence — for what it is worth — that Henry is an evil human being, his description of him largely corresponding to the traditional medieval picture of the tyrant, who is cruel, faithless, stubborn, and arrogant.

How did Henry become so evil? Lampert's annalistic narrative, covering his reign in considerable detail from his early childhood, ought to have presented some hints at an answer, but Lampert is apparently not interested in the problem. His picture of Henry is negative almost from the beginning. His reference to the importance of Henry's royal upbringing which made him proud and stubborn and immune to criticism would in principle apply to every king and can hardly serve as a specific explanation of Henry's character: it is more likely to be a commonplace derived from Lampert's classical reading. A modern historian would probably have used Henry's shock and resentment at being kidnapped by the princes[32] as a psychological explanation for his later behaviour, but this does not seem to have occurred to Lampert. Instead, he mentions a number of examples of Henry's injustice and bad character already from an early age. The fact that Henry is under the bad influence

[29] *LA*, p. 140.

[30] *LA*, p. 152.

[31] See e.g. *LA*, pp. 127, 129.

[32] Archbishop Anno captured King Henry in 1062, when he was twelve years old, and brought him on board his ship. Henry threw himself into the water in order to escape but was brought aboard again. The aim of this coup was to replace Henry's mother, Queen Agnes, as head of the regency with a broader group of nobles (*LA*, p. 80); cf. Hagen Keller, *Zwischen regionaler Begrenzung und universalem Horizont: Deutschland im Imperium der Salier und Staufer 1024 bis 1250* (Frankfurt: Propyläen, 1990), pp. 164–65.

of Archbishop Adalbert, who for a period leads the government, is hardly intended to excuse him, but rather to emphasize the wickedness of this other, great adversary of Lampert's hero Archbishop Anno. Insofar as there is any change in Henry's behaviour, it is more a question of Henry's evil character being gradually revealed than of development in the real sense. Lampert is not interested in showing the uniqueness of Henry's personality; he is interested in a moral and political evaluation and in using Henry's character to explain the evil befalling Germany during his rule.

In contrast to the 'implicit' portrait of Henry, Lampert gives a long characterization of his hero Archbishop Anno, almost a biography.[33] Anno comes from a family of only modest wealth and standing in Bamberg, rises in the service of Henry III through his learning and piety, and is appointed Archbishop of Cologne. As Archbishop, he understands how to give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar and to God what belongs to God. He takes care of and shows the people all the pomp and majesty of his great and wealthy see and holds an important position among the princes of the realm, while at the same time spending his life in studies, prayer, and strict asceticism. The end of his life appears like a *martyrium*. He is persecuted for the sake of his justice by the King and, at his instigation, by the people of his own diocese, and finally succumbs to a terrible disease which slowly tears away his body. In this way, God prepares him for eternity through suffering: 'vas electionis suae in camino tribulationis transitoriae purius auro, purgatius mundo obrizo decoxerat.'[34] Shortly before his death, he has a vision, seeing his predecessors and other holy bishops in white clothes, sitting on seats of judgement with an empty seat between them, prepared for Anno himself. However, he is not yet ready to occupy it; a stain still attaches to him: he has not completely forgiven the people of Cologne for their rebellion against him.[35] The Archbishop immediately lifts the excommunication of the sinners and even restores their property to them. Then he can die, in the perfect state of grace.

This is clearly religious history, modelled upon a saint's life, and consequently in Lampert's opinion has a value in itself. However, Lampert's 'Life of St Anno' is also related to the political situation expressed in the account of the Saxon war, while at the same time serving as a portrait of the perfect ruler in contrast to the tyrant Henry IV. A large part of the characterization of Anno is devoted to his justice and good administration, and above all his unselfish devotion to the interests of the empire and his attempts to lead Henry on the path of justice. Lampert even claims that he was as well qualified for being a king as for being an archbishop.[36]

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[33] *LA*, pp. 242–50. Cf. Holder-Egger, 'Praefatio', pp. x–xi; Teuffel, *Individuelle Persönlichkeitsschilderung*, pp. 27–28. By contrast, Struve, 'Lambert II', pp. 107–08, tries to show — in my opinion unsuccessfully — that Lampert was not without criticism of Anno.

[34] *LA*, p. 242.

[35] *LA*, pp. 248–49.

[36] 'Postremo eo moderamine, ea industria atque auctoritate rem tractabat, ut profecto ambigeres, pontificali eum an regio nomine digniorem iudicares' (*LA*, p. 135).

Lampert's portrait of Anno thus develops the contrast between the good and the bad ruler already emphasized in the contrast between the Saxon and the Colonian rebellion. Anno is not only a saint but in his government of the realm expresses all the qualities of the *rex iustus*, the qualities Henry lacks completely. Moreover, in distinguishing between Anno the ruler and Anno the saint and ascetic, Lampert develops further the distinction between person and office that is already present in his characterization of Henry, a distinction that is also to be found in Lampert's great adversary, the anonymous biographer of Henry IV. However, this is more a distinction between two types than between the office and the individual.

Since Ernst Bernheim's great book on the medieval 'Zeitanschauungen' from the beginning of the last century,[37] medieval characterizations of individual persons have often been believed to be in black and white, with the opposition between the *rex iustus* and the *tyrannus* as the main example, although objections have also been raised against this view. The dichotomy between the *rex iustus* and the *tyrannus* was no doubt present in people's minds from early on. Nevertheless, it is striking, at least in Germany, how rare it is to find this dichotomy applied to contemporaries within one's own country. Rebels within the king's family or among the magnates usually get some moderate criticism, but essentially, they are noble and respectable men. The traditional attitude is thus not to draw a sharp line of division between good and bad people but on the contrary to regard all men within one's own society of high social status — that is in practice all men, for people of low status are not described individually at all — as essentially good, although they may fall short of the ideal on some specific occasions.

Against this background, Lampert's sharp contrast between good and evil men appears almost revolutionary. A new principle of objective justice has been introduced and applied in a far more radical way than in his predecessors. This contrast is partly based on general, religious principles, Henry being a thoroughly evil man while Anno is a saint. It is also, however, based to a considerable extent on political considerations. In this way, Lampert does not apply the traditional understanding of conflicts between great men as a kind of feud. On the contrary, his black and white division between his protagonists depends on his idea of a struggle between those who want to uphold and those who want to destroy the right order of the world. In this respect, he creates a synthesis of ancient and Christian ideas of the good ruler and his contrast. The sharp opposition between good and evil, *rex iustus* and *tyrannus*, hardly indicates any deeper psychological understanding in Lampert than in his predecessors. Nevertheless, there are at least tendencies in these two characterizations towards an emphasis on 'the inner man' which distinguishes Lampert from most of his predecessors. In his account of Anno's vision, Lampert locates the stain preventing him from reaching perfection in his inner soul in the fact that he has not fully forgiven his adversaries. The same concern is evident in the numerous

[37] Ernst Bernheim, *Mittelalterliche Zeitanschauungen in ihrem Einfluss auf Politik und Geschichtsschreibung* (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1964; orig. 1918).

references to what Henry intended to do or would have done had not his counsellors prevented him. Although these passages are clearly propagandistic and are justly criticized as pure speculation on Lampert's part, they form clear evidence of Lampert's preoccupation with the 'inner man'. Sin is not only external acts, but also evil intentions, and the contrast between the evil Henry and the good Anno is expressed most fully by a comparison of their inner souls.[38]

Vita Heinrici Quarti

The anonymous author of the *Vita Heinrici Quarti*[39] belongs in the opposite camp to that of Lampert. Writing probably shortly after Henry IV's death in 1106, he opens with a lament over the dead Emperor, celebrating his virtues and great deeds and expressing his own sorrow at the loss to himself, the poor, the Church, and the whole realm by this great man's death. He then goes on with a short sketch of Henry's life and reign which serves as an apology and a refutation of the many critical voices raised against him, such as Lampert's. Stylistically, the author is Lampert's equal, with the difference that his model is Sallust rather than Livy, and has received the appropriate praise from modern scholars. Otherwise, most of the discussion has concerned his identity which still remains unknown.[40] As for interpretation, his use of the classical and secular concept of *fortuna* has received the greatest interest.[41]

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[38] See e.g. Morris, *Discovery*, pp. 64–95; Caroline W. Bynum, 'Did the Middle Ages Discover the Individual', in her *Jesus as Mother* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 82–109; Jean-Claude Schmitt, 'La "découverte de l'individu": une fiction historiographique?', in *La fabrique, la figure et la feinte*, ed. by Paul Mengal and Françoise Parot (Paris, 1989), pp. 213–35; John F. Benton, 'Consciousness of Self and Perceptions of Individuality', in his *Culture: Power and Personality in Medieval France*, ed. by Thomas N. Bisson (London: Hambledon, 1991), pp. 327–56; Sverre Bagge, 'The Autobiography of Abelard and Medieval Individualism', *JMH*, 19 (1993), 327–50, and 'Decline and Fall: Deterioration of Character as Described by Adam of Bremen and Sturla Þórðarson', in *Individuum und Individualität im Mittelalter*, *Miscellanea Mediaevalia*, vol. XXIV, ed. by Jan A. Aertsen and Andreas Speer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1996), pp. 530–48.

[39] *Vita Heinrici IV imperatoris*, ed. by W. Eberhard, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 58 (Hannover: Hahn, 1899) [hereafter cited as *Vita*].

[40] On this discussion, see Manfred Schluck, *Die Vita Heinrici IV. Imperatoris: Ihre zeitgenössische Quellen und ihr besonderes Verhältnis zum Carmen de bello Saxonico*, Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband, 26 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1979) with references.

[41] Hans F. Haefele, *Fortuna Heinrici IV. Imperatoris: Untersuchungen zur Lebensbeschreibung des dritten Saliers*, ed. by L. Santifaller, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 15 (Graz: Böhlau, 1954); Beumann, *Ideengeschichtliche Studien*, pp. 77–79; Herwig Wolfram, 'Fortuna in mittelalterlichen Stammesgeschichten', *MIÖG*, 72 (1964), 1–33; Bagge, *Kings*, pp. 328–39.

In contrast to Lampert, however, the use of classical sources in the *Vita* has to do with form rather than content. Several passages, especially concerning military matters, are quotations or paraphrases of Sallust and other Roman authors. Although derived from classical sources, however, the crucial concept of *fortuna* forms part of a thoroughly Christian ideology. The author here addresses a problem that was frequently discussed during the Investiture Contest, namely signs of divine intervention in history, victory and defeat serving respectively as evidence of God's support or rejection. The problem in the *Vita* is Henry's troubled reign which his adversaries could use as evidence of God's rejection. Consequently, the author first tries to show that Henry himself is not to blame for these problems but rather evil men who used the opportunity to further their own interests at the cost of the realm during Henry's long minority and who in the following period used every possible means to undermine his position, including slandering him to the pope and setting his own sons up against him. Second, the author tries to show positively that Henry has God's favour. He achieves this through a series of examples of Henry's miraculous or symbolic victories over his enemies. These examples actually form almost his whole account of Henry's reign which thus becomes a curious example of a history of a great king consisting only of chance events, not of the protagonist's great or heroic deeds. The anti-king Rudolf of Swabia is defeated and killed and symbolically has his right hand cut off, the hand with which he had sworn the oath to Henry which he later broke.[42] Henry is repeatedly saved from death and his enemies killed in equally unlikely ways. Thus, a priest in Rome tries to kill Henry by dropping a heavy stone on the very spot in a church where Henry goes to pray every day at the same time. However, just at the time when the stone drops, Henry happens to be in a slightly different place and escapes unharmed. By contrast, a woman in a besieged town throws a stone haphazardly over the wall, hitting one of the anti-kings set up against Henry and killing him.[43] Each of these events is highly unlikely. Taken together, they form incontrovertible evidence — at least in the author's mind — that Henry has God's favour and his enemies not. *Fortuna* is thus not the fickle or blind woman of Classical Antiquity and the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but a synonym for events that do not happen as the results of deliberate human action and are so unlikely that they can only be explained by divine intervention.

Having reached this conclusion, the author in the last part of his work is confronted with Henry's final defeat, which he also explains with reference to God's providence. He thus runs dangerously close to contradicting himself. However, he solves the problem by regarding Henry's troubles and ultimate failure as God's way of cleansing his soul through suffering in order to prepare him for eternal life, the same idea as in Lampert's account of Archbishop Anno. Any objection that he thus

[42] *Vita*, ch. 4, p. 19.

[43] *Vita*, ch. 4, pp. 19–20, ch. 7, p. 25; cf. Bagge, *Kings*, pp. 333–35.

uses success as well as failure as evidence of the justice of Henry's cause is anticipated by the detailed account of Henry's noble and humble behaviour in adversity.[44]

The *Vita* is strongly focused on one person whose character is actually the main theme of the work. The middle part of the work is intended to give evidence of Henry's essential goodness which assures him of God's particular protection, while the character in itself is dealt with explicitly in the beginning and at the end. The former contains a 'double portrait' of the saint and the king, interlaced in a complex but very elegant way: on the one hand the kind and loving man who personally nurses the poor and diseased, serving them food from the royal table and letting them sleep in his bed, not abhorring the stench of their diseases; on the other the dignified and awe-inspiring king and stern judge who punishes severely all wrong-doers.[45] To us, sanctity is clearly a personal quality while kingship is an office, but this distinction was less clear in the Middle Ages; maybe, then, social role would be a more adequate term for both.

In the last part, the author elaborates his picture of Henry's character by showing his humility and goodness in adversity. In strongly emotional language, he describes the old emperor's suffering and humiliation and his son's harshness. His way of doing this is subjective rather than objective. Thus, in reaching the climax of his story, Henry's betrayal by his son, he creates a remarkable 'scene', not by representing precise, physical circumstances but by describing in detail the emotional reactions.[46] Further, he directly expresses his own emotions about Henry's fate and urges his readers to share them.[47] Although such direct comments and appeals to the readers are by no means unknown in the older tradition, the author of the *Vita* takes a further step away from concrete and objective narrative to authorial subjectivity. This, however, may have to do with his genre, which is closer to epideictic oratory than to narrative history.[48]

Such scenes are hardly evidence of deep psychological insight on the author's part. His characters are described in black and white, and to some extent, as in the elder Henry's case, partly by means of models from classical or early Christian sources. The concrete descriptions are more to be understood in terms of rhetorical models like 'how to describe a father who has been deposed by his son' or 'how to describe a son who totally lacks compassion for his father'. From a literary point of view, there can be no doubt of the author's skill in composing such descriptions; nor is there any reason to think that models and rhetorical and literary skill are incompatible with genuine emotions. Most important in a historical examination of a text

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[44] *Vita*, chs 9–13; cf. Bagge, *Kings*, pp. 339–50.

[45] *Vita*, ch. 1; cf. Bagge, *Kings*, pp. 318–27.

[46] *Vita*, ch. 9.

[47] *Vita*, ch. 1.

[48] Caroline Cohen, 'Les elements constitutifs de quelques planctus des X^e^ et XI^e^ siècles', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 1 (1958), 83–86.

like the present, however, is the significance of a change in representation from external action to emotions and internal experience. Admittedly, external acts could be and were interpreted as signs of emotions and intentions in earlier historiography as well, and the stronger emphasis on the subjective and emotional in the *Vita* may also to some extent be an expression of genre, of a rhetoric of direct, emotional appeal to the readers rather than apparently objective narrative. Nevertheless, a stronger emphasis on psychology and intentions would make sense in a work from the early twelfth century, in the same way as its more consistent Christian interpretation. The author is not content with vague references to the inscrutability of God's ways; he needs to show that God is consistent, that there is meaning in human suffering and adversity, and that God wants society to be organized according to objective criteria of justice. In a similar way, he does not confine himself to external acts but wants to understand as well as to visualize their psychological and emotional contents.

Otto of Freising

Otto of Freising is even more Roman in his approach than Lampert. In his *Chronica*, he deals with the history of the Roman Empire from Antiquity to his own age, tracing the line of emperors from Augustus to Conrad III, and in his *Gesta Frederici*, he describes the deep crisis of the empire during the Investiture Contest and its restoration under the brilliant new emperor, Frederick I Barbarossa.[49]

In this latter work, he directly addresses the question of the relationship between the ancient Roman Empire and the present one. When approaching Rome in the summer of 1155, during his expedition to Italy to receive the imperial crown, Frederick is met by a delegation from the city of Rome, whose inhabitants had some years earlier rebelled against the pope and established their own republic, thus intending to restore the old Roman constitution. In a high-flown speech, the envoys address Frederick in the name of the city of Rome, the centre of the world, full of ancient glory, which is now being restored. Rome welcomes Frederick as her ruler, inviting him, who was a guest, now to become a citizen and listing the rights he ought to respect when arriving in Rome, among other things the duty to pay the officials of the city 5000 pounds. The King is filled with just anger by this arrogance, interrupting the speakers and answering in a long speech. Quoting from Cicero's first speech against Catilina, 'Fuit, fuit quondam in hac re publica virtus', he develops the contrast between the past glory and the present misery of Rome. Now the empire has passed over to the Franks, to Frederick and his ancestors. Here are now the consuls, the senate, the equestrian order, and the camp. Rome is weak, has to implore the Franks for help, and therefore has no right to impose conditions on them. Frederick refutes in detail the Romans' demands, declaring that he has a legitimate

[49] *Ottonis episcopi Frisingiensis Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. by Adolf Hofmeister, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 45 (Hannover: Hahn, 1912) [hereafter cited as *GF*].

right to rule the Roman Empire without the consent of the inhabitants. In particular, he refuses to pay the 5000 pounds, pointing to the humiliation in accepting conditions from social inferiors, particularly in the form of money payment.[50]

In contrast to Lampert, Otto here refers directly to the Roman institutions, thus indicating that he regards ancient Rome as a society organized in a specific way, not only a model of excellence. This 'specific' society is not to be reconstructed; it still exists, having only been moved. Otto does not specify the exact equivalents in contemporary German society to the Roman institutions. One of his parallels is actually based on a misunderstanding which was common at the time. The equestrian order is a census class, originally consisting of men who were wealthy enough to do military service on horseback, not anything equivalent to medieval knights. As for the consuls and the senate, no expert on Roman institutions would find anything very similar in twelfth-century Germany. Nor is Otto likely to have done so. Rather than exact institutions, Otto was thinking in terms of a general 'Roman-ness', symbolically expressed in the institutions he mentions. This 'Roman-ness' should most probably be identified with the Christian concept of the right order of the world.[51]

Otto's ideals on this point are best illustrated by its contrasts, described in his two geographical excursuses, on Hungary and Italy.[52] The Hungarians are primitive and barbaric and ruled by an absolute king. There are no aristocratic privileges; the king rules directly over all inhabitants in the country who are obliged to serve in his army, and he can arrest, torture or condemn to death any of his subjects, even the most high-ranking ones. By contrast, the Italians are wealthy and sophisticated but completely undisciplined, and the country is an anarchy. There is no difference of rank, even merchants and artisans can rise to the highest offices, and the law is not respected. Hungary plays a subordinate role in the parts of *Gesta Frederici* Otto managed to finish, that is, Books I and II, covering the first four years of Frederick's reign, but he hints at plans for an expedition against this country. Italy, however, forms the main subject of Book II, and Otto's account of Frederick's expedition there amply illustrates his words about the need for subduing this undisciplined people. They explain Frederick's almost absolutist attitude in rejecting the Romans' offer of elective monarchy, and they are confirmed in a drastic way by the description of the terrible siege of Tortona.[53]

The negative descriptions of the two countries indirectly point to the ideal, a balanced, aristocratic constitution where rank and privilege are respected, where the

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[50] *GF* II.31–32; cf. Robert L. Benson, 'Political *renovatio*: Two Models from Roman Antiquity', in *Renaissance and Renewal*, ed. by Benson and Constable, pp. 339–86; and Sverre Bagge, 'Ideas and Narrative in Otto of Freising's *Gesta Frederici*', *JMH*, 22 (1996), 357–59.

[51] For the term, see Gerd Tellenbach, *Libertas: Kirche und Weltordnung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreites* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1936).

[52] *GF* I.33 and II.14–15.

[53] *GF* II.21–29; Bagge, 'Ideas and Narrative', pp. 360–62.

king rules with the consent of the great men, and the common people are kept in their place, showing the appropriate respect for their superiors. This ideal is further developed in Otto's account of Germany, notably after Frederick has restored the country after the crisis. Frederick moves from assembly to assembly, wearing the crown or celebrating holidays, and settling the matters brought before him. Through his high office and great virtues Frederick is the symbol of the realm and the focus of government, but he is not an absolute ruler and not the only one responsible for all the decisions made. He rules in close cooperation with the leading men of the realm, and he is able to create peace between them through negotiations and compromises. Thus, Otto shows the contrast between order and disorder and Frederick's achievement in accomplishing the former in Germany as well as in Italy. There is, however, a significant difference between the situation in the two countries as well as in Frederick's behaviour. Whereas the Italians have to be suppressed by severity and violence, the conflicts between the great men in Germany must be settled by negotiations and compromise. The importance of such peaceful solutions is expressed in the remark Otto attributes to Frederick that he considered the peaceful settlement of the long and difficult conflict over the succession to the duchy of Bavaria a greater achievement than all his other successes.[54] Characteristically, the final solution to this problem is the last event narrated in Book II, before Otto's final comment on Frederick's successes.

In this way, Frederick's regime forms the perfect contrast to the barbarian countries of Hungary and Italy. The Roman Empire centred in Germany represents the right order of the world, in which society is organized as a hierarchy with the emperor on top, and then in descending order the princes and nobles, and finally the common people. The 'balanced' constitution of the Romans, based on the consuls, the senate, and the equestrian order, is thus to be found in the 'transferred' centre of the empire in Germany, without Otto bothering too much about the exact parallels to the Roman institutions. His main point is to underline the essential similarity: the camp and the equestrian order signify military virtue and the consuls and the senate 'constitutional' government through the magnates and nobles in cooperation with the emperor. In this empire, peace and harmony can be created without the ruler resorting to Hungarian tyranny. By contrast, constitutional government cannot work in a country in which there is no real aristocracy. Therefore, Frederick comes forward, proclaiming the absolute power of the emperor to the rebellious Romans.

Otto's technique in comparing the three societies is similar to that of Lampert in his discussion of rebellions and thus to contemporary legal and philosophical thought with which Otto was familiar from his studies in Paris. The way in which Otto's Germany conforms to the right order of the world is illustrated by the description of the contrasting examples of Hungary and Italy. In Otto, however, this principle is

[54] 'Proponebat hoc princeps omnibus eventuum suorum successibus, si tam magnos sibique tam affines imperii sui principes sine sanguinis effusione in concordiam revocare posset' (*GF* II.49).

combined with a more extended use of typology and allegory. Thus, in Book I, Otto describes how Frederick, on his way to the Holy Land during the Second Crusade in 1147, thus well before his accession to the throne, was saved from a flood because he had pitched his camp on a hill. Explicitly, Otto points to Frederick's *fortuna*, thus suggesting the main motive in his account, that of Frederick changing the course of *fortuna* and restoring the Roman Empire from its decline. Implicitly, the episode suggests the parallel to Noah who was saved from the flood in order to be the father of a new generation of men.[55] Further, Frederick's coronation takes place at the same time as the consecration of a bishop, also called Frederick, signifying the close connection between the two *Christi Domini* in the government of the world. Both these episodes are prefigurations, of Frederick as the founder of the new Roman Empire, parallel to Noah as the founder of a new generation of men, and of the unity and friendship between the two leaders of the Church, as developed further in the account of perfect harmony between Frederick and the pope during their meeting in Rome.[56] At the same time, they also signify the eternal and spiritual relevance of Frederick's reign: by restoring the right order of the world and healing the conflict between the spiritual and the temporal power, Frederick contributes to the history of salvation.

As for psychology, the *Gesta Frederici* has the least to offer of our three examples. The *rex iustus* ideal overshadows any personal feature in Frederick. Characteristically, his voice is heard only once in the whole work, that is, in the speech against the Romans, cited above. His main virtue is impersonal, objective justice which is illustrated in a number of episodes. Thus, on the day of his coronation, he is approached by a knight who has been disgraced, hoping that, on this day of glory, the King will be so full of joy that he will readily forgive him. But Frederick is unyielding, stating that the man had been disgraced, not because of hatred, but because of justice. Thus, he shows a remarkable *constantia* in such a young man while at the same time emphasizing that as a ruler he is the guardian of justice.[57] Several episodes from his expedition to Italy, including the siege of Tortona, transmit the same message.

Conclusion

The preceding examination of the three works has focused on three aspects: (1) the question of secularism and the relationship to the Roman past, (2) the influence from

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[55] *GF* I.48; Bagge, 'Ideas and Narrative', pp. 355–56.

[56] *GF* II.30; Bagge, *Kings*, pp. 375–76.

[57] 'Constantie sue omnibus nobis non parvum dedit indicium' (*GF* II.3); cf. Bagge, 'Ideas and Narrative', pp. 350–51. On the passage as evidence of a new attitude to royal anger as expressing impersonal justice, see Gerd Althoff, '*Ira Regis*: Prolegomena to a History of Royal Anger', in *Angers Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Barbara Rosenwein (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 70–71.

legal thought and scholasticism, and (3) the 'discovery of the individual'. The Roman past is strongly present in two of the three works, Lampert and Otto of Freising, and largely in the same way, as an argument in favour of the aristocratic constitution of Germany, according to which the king governs in cooperation with magnates and princes while the common people are kept in their place. By contrast, the *Vita* has a different ideal, regarding the magnates and princes as greedy and cruel and pointing to the monarchy, represented by Henry IV, as the champion of the common people against them. The author's attitude to the monarchy therefore has an absolutist ring. This, however, can hardly be the reason for his lack of explicit references to the Roman past, as Imperial Rome might easily serve as a model for the author's constitutional ideas. Nor does he lack familiarity with classical sources, as his text is full of allusions and quotations from them. His concept of *fortuna* is derived from ancient thought but is used in a thoroughly Christian sense. The absence of references to the Roman past might possibly be understood against the background of its use by his adversaries, but may equally well be explained by the strong focus on a particular line of thought in his brief work, the arguments for God's intervention in Henry's favour taking precedence over constitutional questions.

Reference to the Roman past is of course nothing new in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; there is a more or less continuous tradition of this throughout the Middle Ages. The constitutional conclusions derived from this past by Lampert and Otto, however, are new compared to Ottonian and early Salian historiography, and must be explained by the new situation during the Investiture Contest, which involved an ideological conflict over political as well as religious questions. Lampert's use of ancient Rome is combined with what seems a fairly secular attitude. He focuses strongly on the political opposition against Henry, while paying relatively little attention to the religious conflict going on at the same time. Arguments for the right of rebellion against an unjust king were also easier to find in Livy and other Roman authors than in ecclesiastical thought. By contrast, both the two other authors are strongly religious; and Lampert is of course only secular in a relative sense; he is not a modern rationalist in a monk's garb, and his work contains sufficient evidence of Christianity to show that he shared the religious world view common to medieval chroniclers. The *Vita* is strongly religious, the classical concept of *fortuna* serving as evidence of divine intervention. Finally, Otto of Freising's transfer of ancient Rome to contemporary Germany is linked to a Christian concept of the right order of the world which is further developed in his picture of the new harmony originating in the close cooperation of the two *Christi domini*, signified in the consecration of the two Fredericks on the same day.

As for the sense of history underlying Lampert's and Otto's use of the Roman past, their constitutional model derived from ancient Rome, Lampert's *lex* and *mores maiorum* and Otto's somewhat more specific Roman institutions must be regarded as fairly vague, serving to show the direct parallel between the Roman past and the present. This concept of 'Roman-ness' illustrates the difference between the Renaissance of the twelfth century and that of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Consti-

tutional issues in the strict sense played a considerably more important part in the latter period. A variety of constitutional possibilities existed, and it was a matter of 'social engineering' to find the appropriate one for each polity. This applies both to the civic humanists like Bruni and his contemporaries in the early fifteenth century and even more to the more cynical and 'realistic' approach of Machiavelli in the early sixteenth. As for the latter, his detailed examination of the Roman constitution and numerous examples from Roman history intended as models for his contemporaries show an attitude to history very different from modern historicist thought. On the other hand, he has a far clearer idea both of the gap between his own age and that of the Romans and of the specific institutions of the Roman republic and the character of Roman society. Ancient Rome has not only moved, as in Otto; it is dead and has to be resurrected, or rather, a new society has to be built according to the Roman model.[58]

As for the psychological aspect, our texts hardly give evidence of a discovery of the individual. To some extent, they may even be said to represent a movement in the opposite direction, with types and models dominating over individuality. Thus, Widukind's portrait of Otto I is far more vivid than any of the portraits discussed above, with the possible exception of the *Vita*'s portrait of Henry IV. Widukind's physical description visualizes Otto's enormous, lion-like body, and his account of his character gives a strong impression of the combination of terror and friendship Otto inspired in his surroundings.[59] Of course, Widukind's portrait is also of a type rather than an individual, but of a different type, the Germanic warlord and charismatic leader. The great change from Widukind to Otto is therefore not the change from type to individual or vice versa but from one type to another. Although the *rex iustus* ideal is not new in the eleventh and twelfth centuries — it goes back to Late Antiquity and the Carolingian period — it is gradually applied to historiography in a more consistent and detailed way from the eleventh century onwards. Adalbold of

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[58] See e.g. J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), pp. 83–91, 183–94; Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 89–112, 152–86; Sverre Bagge, 'Medieval and Renaissance Historiography: Break or Continuity?', in *The Individual in European Culture*, ed. by Sverre Bagge, special issue, *European Legacy*, 2.8 (1997), 1351–71. Cf. also Panofsky's comment: 'The Middle Ages had left antiquity unburied and alternately galvanized and exorcised its corpse. The Renaissance stood weeping at its grave and tried to resurrect its soul. And in one fatally auspicious moment it succeeded. This is why the mediaeval concept of the Antique was so concrete and at the same time so incomplete and distorted; whereas the modern one [. . .] is comprehensive and consistent but, if I may so, abstract. And this is why the mediaeval renascenses were transitory; whereas the Renaissance was permanent' (Panofsky, *Renaissance*, p. 113).

[59] Widukind, *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri III*, II.36, ed. by Hans-Eberhard Lohmann and Paul Hirsch, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 60 (Hannover: Hahn, 1935); Bagge, *Kings*, pp. 53–61.

Utrecht's portrait of Henry II from the 1020s and above all Wipo's portrait of Conrad II from around 1040 are important steps in this direction.[60] Although not new in itself, Lampert's application of the concept of the tyrant to a contemporary German ruler must be considered almost revolutionary against the background of earlier historiography. With regard to the *Vita*, its portrait of Henry IV is a rhetorical masterpiece, with the complex double portrait of the king and the saint in the beginning, in the end the suffering old king betrayed by his own son, and finally the author's expression of his own emotions. However, it can hardly be understood as the expression of a discovery of the individual. The two Henrys that are interlaced in the beginning are types rather than individuals, and the description of the suffering Henry might equally well be applied to any father in the same situation.

In the field of psychology, our three works are surpassed by Adam of Bremen's portrait of Archbishop Adalbert from the 1070s, which is directly concerned with the problem of change in character, from good to bad. The portrait is clearly remarkable but on the other hand hardly evidence of a discovery of the individual. First, Adalbert is gradually changing from one type to another, from the good bishop to the bad. Second, Adam's description is probably determined by the disasters that struck the diocese during the second half of Adalbert's pontificate, which he explains by Adalbert's sins, in the same way as the Old Testament writers regard disaster as God's punishment for the kings' sins. And finally, Adam had a close personal relationship to Adalbert and was torn between his friendship and sympathy with him and his disapproval of many of his acts. Thus, he had an 'existential' reason for analysing his protagonist's development which Lampert lacked.[61] Conceptually, Adam's portrait should not be understood as a new way of representing the individual, or as a representative of a new trend, but certainly as an example of a particularly vivid portrait within the general moral schema at the time, based on Adam's personal experience.

There is a focus on intention in all the three works which corresponds to the new trends in the twelfth century, but we are hardly dealing with a new understanding of the individual in general in contemporary historiography. Nor is there a development in the secular direction. On the contrary, it is now Bernheim's 'Augustinian' schema of the *rex iustus* and the *tyrannus* and the strict evaluation of the protagonists in

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[60] *Vita Heinrici II imperatore auctore Adalboldo*, ed. by G. Waitz, MGH SS, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), pp. 670–95; Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi*, in *Wiponis Opera*, ed. by Harry Bresslau, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 61 (Hannover: Hahn, 1915). Cf. Bagge, *Kings*, pp. 189–230.

[61] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. by Bernhard Schmeidler, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1917). On the psychology in Adam's account of Adalbert, see e.g. Teuffel, *Individuelle Persönlichkeitsschilderung*, pp. 47–54; Paul Kirn, *Das Bild des Menschen in der Geschichtsschreibung von Polybios bis Ranke* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1955), pp. 119–25; Georg Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie* (Frankfurt: Verlag G. Schulte – Bulmke 1959), III.1, 168–214; Bagge, 'Decline and Fall', pp. 531–39.

terms of Christian morality come to dominate in historiography, in contrast to the heroic-charismatic ideal in Widukind. Lampert partly forms an exception to this, with his political understanding of the *tyrannus*, but the opposition is clearly there in him as well, and the religious ideals are strongly present in his 'Life of St Anno'.

The clearest expression of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance in the three works are the trends corresponding to the development of a 'normative science' in the fields of theology, philosophy, and canon law, in other words the attempt to develop general rules through an analysis of concrete examples, as in Lampert's comparative accounts of rebellions, in the *Vita*'s attempt to prove that God favours Henry by comparing his many unlikely victories, and in Otto of Freising's comparison between the constitutions of Hungary, Italy, and Germany. The intellectual background to this development must be sought in the contemporary development of logic, but also — perhaps in connection with this — in the theological ideas of objective justice. The latter seems particularly important when we compare with some earlier historical texts. In the earlier works of Widukind (*c*. 968) and Thietmar (1013–18), not only the king but also God is a great patron, punishing His enemies and favouring His friends. Although there are of course rules for good and bad behaviour, it is very difficult to find consistent norms in the examples of God's intervention in human affairs, particularly in Thietmar,[62] whereas Widukind more rarely deals with such subjects. By contrast, the three authors dealt with above refer to strictly objective norms laid down by God, some of them, in particular the *Vita*, having considerable problems in reconciling them with the course of history, but nevertheless grappling with them in a far more systematic way than their predecessors and at least achieving considerable consistency regarding the purely normative aspect of human history.

To what extent are our three authors representative of what happened in German historiography in the period? The late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the period of the Investiture Contest, produced a large number of historical works, some directly engaged in the conflict, others, like the numerous diocesan chronicles, often less affected by it, and it needs a thorough examination of the whole corpus to answer this question. Moreover, in contrast to disciplines like Roman and canon law, historiography did not become an academic discipline with generally recognized standards for its practitioners. There is therefore no particular reason to assume that the 'Renaissance features' identified in the previous pages were common to the whole historiographical tradition of contemporary Germany. The three writers discussed here are generally regarded by modern scholars as the most interesting and important in the period. They are innovators, which makes them important in a discussion about the beginning of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance, although — or rather because — they are not representative. However, even if our three historians may be fairly isolated *as historians*, they are not isolated in a wider intellectual

[62] Bagge, *Kings*, pp. 98–107.

context. The Investiture Contest produced a vast propaganda literature which gave intellectual discourse a new and important position and paved the way for the revival of philosophy and canon law in the following period,[63] representing the same 'normative science' as we have found in our three authors.[64]

Thus, in a wider sense our three authors form part of a larger renaissance movement in Germany, which must be explained partly by the gradual growth of schools and the greater opportunities for intellectuals during the relatively stable and peaceful conditions in Germany in the Ottonian and early Salian period, but above all by the intellectual effort provoked by the great crisis of the age, the Investiture Contest, when old certainties broke down and both parties fought for their cause not only with the sword but also with the pen. This in turns supports the more recent view of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance, in contrast to that of Haskins, as an intellectual revival as much — or even more — in theology as in more secular fields and consequently not as a first step in the direction of modern secular society. Although the secular aspect of the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has also become less prominent in recent years, this forms one of several arguments for accepting the existence of both renaissances, while being aware of the differences between them.

[63] For recent, thorough as well as profound analysis of the pamphlets from this point of view, see Leidulf Melve, 'The Medieval Public Sphere: Continuity and Innovation in the Polemical Literature of the Investiture Contest' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bergen, 2004).

[64] This is also largely the answer to Patzold's objections to my conclusions about changes in the attitudes of the leading circles in Germany *c*. 950–1150, based on the examination of six historical works. See Steffen Patzold, [rev. of] Sverre Bagge, *Kings, Politics, and the Right Order of the World*, *Francia*, 31.1 (2004), 315–17.

The Creation of the *Codex Falkensteinensis* (1166): Self-Representation and Reality

JOHN B. FREED

Before leaving in 1166 on Frederick I Barbarossa's ill-fated fourth Italian campaign, Count Sigiboto IV of Falkenstein (1126–*c*. 1198) commissioned a canon of Herrenchiemsee to write the *Codex Falkensteinensis*, the oldest European family archive.[1] At his departure the manuscript included the following

[1] The most recent edition of the *Codex Falkensteinensis* is by Elisabeth Noichl, *Codex Falkensteinensis: Die Rechtsaufzeichnungen der Grafen von Falkenstein*, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen Geschichte, n.s., 29 (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1978). Internal evidence indicates that the manuscript was prepared between 1164 and 1170. Since Sigiboto bid his sons farewell in the inscription on the portrait, Noichl (pp. 40*–43*) believed that the most likely event during this time period that would have occasioned the commissioning of the codex was the Emperor's Italian campaign. She dated the last entries in the codex, nos 175, 176, 177, and 178, around 1196. I believe a date around 1198, which Franz Tyroller, *Genealogie des altbayerischen Adels im Hochmittelalter*, Genealogische Tafeln zur mitteleuropäischen Geschichte, 4 (Göttingen: H. Reisse, 1962), p. 218, no. 13, had suggested for unknown reasons as the date of no. 178, but which Noichl, p. 158, headnote to no. 178, rejected, may be the correct date for the last entry in the codex and thus also the last reference to Count Sigiboto. In no. 175 Sigiboto agreed to entrust the property he would assign to his daughter-in-law as her dower to his brother-in-law, Count Kuno V of Mödling, within six weeks of Kuno's return 'ab expeditione'; and in no. 178 the Count requested that Kuno give Sigiboto the property. The word *expeditio* was used elsewhere in the codex in reference to the Second and Third Crusades (nos 171, 184). The best guess is that Kuno joined Emperor Henry VI's crusade. Most of the crusaders left Germany around Christmas 1196 and had returned by the summer of 1198. See Peter Csendes, *Heinrich VI* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993), pp. 197–202. To reduce the number of footnotes, references to entries in the codex will be indicated in parentheses in the text.

Adam J. Kosto, 'The *Liber feudorum maior* of the Counts of Barcelona: The Cartulary as an Expression of Power', *JMH*, 27 (2001), 1–22 (p. 2), pointed out that cartularies were generally created in periods of 'institutional crisis and reform'. It should be stressed that

items in this order: the first-known family portrait;[2] the appointment of Sigiboto's father-in-law, Count Kuno IV of Mödling, as the guardian of the Count's sons Kuno and Sigiboto V (no. 1);[3] a list of the fiefs with which Sigiboto had been enfeoffed (no. 2) and which may well be the oldest German feudatory;[4] the first entry about the *Hantgemal*, a classic legal text about the Falkensteins' *predium libertatis* (no. 131) or earnest of their free status (no. 3);[5] a notice about the chapels in Sigiboto's three Upper Bavarian castles: Neuburg, Falkenstein, and Hartmannsberg (no. 4); the *Urbar*, the oldest survey of the estates of a lay landowner (the oldest Bavarian ducal register was prepared between 1231 and 1234);[6] and a *Traditionsbuch*, the only extant book of conveyances from a secular lordship.[7] Sigiboto, wearing a princely coronet on his

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Sigiboto's commissioning of the codex was precocious. We generally assume that England was in the vanguard, at least in northern Europe, in the production and preservation of written records; but Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993) indicated that the barons did not maintain their own chanceries in the twelfth century (p. 56), had accepted the use of documents only by 1200 (p. 76), that is, a generation after Sigiboto commissioned the codex, and that the earliest lay cartularies date only from the thirteenth century but remained rare even then (p. 102). For an application and critique of Clanchy's theories about the development of pragmatic literacy to the rest of Europe, see *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, ed. by Karl Heidecker, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

[2] On the portrait, see John B. Freed, 'Artistic and Literary Representations of Family Consciousness', in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. by Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary, Publications of the German Historical Institute (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 233–52.

[3] On the Counts of Mödling, see Günther Flohrschütz, 'Die Vögte von Mödling und ihr Gefolge', *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte*, 38 (1975), 3–143.

[4] Noichl, p. 70*, thought that the *Lehnbuch* of Werner II of Bolanden was older, but that list has now been redated in all probability to the mid-thirteenth century. See Werner Rösener, 'Beobachtungen zur Grundherrschaft des Adels im Hochmittelalter', in *Grundherrschaft und bäuerliche Gesellschaft im Hochmittelalter*, ed. by Werner Rösener, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 115 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1995), pp. 116–61 (p. 141, n. 116). The list appears today on fol. 7^{r-v}, but it faced the portrait before the manuscript was rebound in the sixteenth century. See Noichl, pp. 25*–26*.

[5] On the *Hantgemal*, see John B. Freed, *The Counts of Falkenstein: Noble Self-Consciousness in Twelfth-Century Germany*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 74.6 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984), pp. 36–40.

[6] *Das älteste bayerische Herzogsurbar: Analyse und Edition*, ed. by Ingrid Heeg-Engelhart, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen Geschichte, n.s., 37 (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1990), pp. 96*–129*, esp. pp. 127*–29*. On the Falkenstein *Urbar*, see John B. Freed, 'Bavarian Wine and Woolless Sheep: The *Urbar* of Count Sigiboto IV of Falkenstein (1126–ca. 1198)', *Viator*, 35 (2004), 71–112.

[7] On the *Traditionsbücher* and the older literature about them, see John B. Freed, *Noble Bondsmen: Ministerial Marriages in the Archdiocese of Salzburg, 1100–1343* (Ithaca: Cornell

head, is identified in the portrait as Lord Count Sigiboto ('DNS SIBOTO COMES'), and the rest of codex provides the legal and economic basis for that representation. Indeed, the list of fiefs that originally faced the portrait starts with the statement, 'The register begins. A summary of the alods and fiefs of Lord Count Sigiboto.' For good measure, he was identified in the next sentence with his complete title: Count of Neuburg, Falkenstein, Hartmannsberg, and Hernstein (no. 2).

As Werner Rösener indicated, such a combination of disparate materials was not at all untypical for twelfth-century Bavarian *Traditionsbücher* that were produced by ecclesiastical foundations. The books of conveyances were not intended to be simply cartularies (*Kopialbücher*). In addition to the notices themselves, such Bavarian codices might contain protocolic entries, *Urbare*, miniatures, calendars, necrologies, and the rule the house followed. For example, *Urbare* were added at the end of the twelfth century to the *Traditionsbuch* of the abbey of St Peter's in Salzburg.[8] The very act of transcribing a transaction into a codex was by itself a form of legal proof, and the book memorialized the church's founders and benefactors.[9] The memorial function of the *Codex Falkensteinensis* is evident in the inscription on the portrait: 'Sons, bid your father farewell and speak respectfully to your mother. Dear one who reads this, we beseech you, remember us. All may do this, but especially you, dearest son.'[10]

I want to examine how the *Codex Falkensteinensis* was produced and why Sigiboto commissioned it, and I will argue that a major reason for its creation was the contradiction between Sigiboto's public persona, as represented by the portrait, and his actual power. This investigation will be guided by four methodological considerations.

University Press, 1995), pp. 18–19. In addition, see Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 81–114; Georges Declercq, 'Originals and Cartularies: The Organization of Archival Memory (Ninth–Eleventh Centuries)', in *Charters and the Use of the Written Word*, ed. by Heidecker, pp. 147–70; Alexander Hecht, 'Between *Memoria*, Historiography and Pragmatic Literacy: The *Liber Delegacionum* of Reichersberg', in ibid., pp. 205–11; and Stephan Molitor, 'Das Traditionsbuch: Zur Forschungsgeschichte einer Quellengattung und zu einem Beispiel aus Südwestdeutschland', *AfD*, 36 (1990), 61–92. Kosto, 'The *Liber feudorum maior*', p. 2, indicated that cartularies produced for French lay lordships, even princely ones, were rare before the mid-thirteenth century. The cartulary of the Counts of Barcelona was started in the 1180s after a reorganization of the comital archives (p. 8).

[8] *Salzburger Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Willibald Hauthaler and Franz Martin, 4 vols (Salzburg: Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde, 1910–33), I (1910), 512–18, nos 479, 480.

[9] Rösener, 'Beobachtungen', pp. 119–21; and Peter Johanek, 'Zur rechtlichen Funktion von Traditionsnotiz, Traditionsbuch und früher Siegelurkunde', in *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter*, ed. by Peter Classen, Vorträge und Forschungen, herausgegeben vom Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte, 23 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1977), pp. 131–62.

[10] Noichl, p. 29*, n. 2. 'Dic valeas patri, bene fili, dicite matri. Qui legis hec care, nostri petimus memorare. Hoc quidem cuncti, mage tu, carissime fili.'

First, it is necessary to treat the codex as a whole. The very uniqueness of the codex has led to specialized studies or the selective use of its constituent parts, inspired in part by the changing vagaries of historiographical fashion, for instance, about the *Hantgemal* or family consciousness; but I know of no monograph that has investigated the codex in its totality. Second, it is necessary to pay careful attention to the location of the places mentioned in the codex. For instance, all the fiefs that Sigiboto divided among his sons before Kuno's departure on the Third Crusade in 1189, except for several hides situated at Glonn, north of Neuburg, were located within the boundaries of the *Urbar* office attached to the castle of Hartmannsberg (no. 106).

Third, the placement of the individual entries in the codex is crucial. Elisabeth Noichl, the editor of the most recent edition of the codex, did a superb job in dating the entries and in identifying the scribes, witnesses, and place names; but she did not publish the entries in the order they appear in the manuscript but rearranged them in topical and chronological order.[11] Although it is quite possible to reconstruct the original arrangement from her notes without looking at the actual manuscript, the unwary user can easily be misled or fail to see important connections that may have existed in Sigiboto's or the scribes' minds. For example, sometime in the 1170s scribe F3 included in the codex a list of the Count's liquid assets that were known to two of his men: £60 of Krems and £40 of Regensburg money; ten marks of silver; four silver bowls, a silver salver, two silver spoons, three cups ('picaria') with silver covers (tankards?), four silver cups ('cyphos') with covers, whose total value was £12 and one (shilling?, one or two words are unreadable); and half a mark of gold, two bracelets, each weighing half a mark of gold, two gold coins (bezants?), each weighing half a mark, for a total of two and a half marks of gold (no. 105).[12] Noichl published this entry after the *Urbar*, as part of the category 'Besitzstand aller Art'. In reality, the scribe placed this notice on the front page of the manuscript that had been left blank in 1166; presumably, Sigiboto wanted to have quick access to his 'bank statement'.[13] Of course, such silver and gold objects were also intended to be a

[11] Noichl, p. 87*. The 1880 edition of the *Codex Falkensteinsis* by Hans Petz in *Drei bayerische Traditionsbücher aus dem XII. Jahrhundert: Festschrift zum 700 jährigen Jubiläum der Wittelsbacher Thronbesteigung* (Munich: Verlag von Max Kellerer's Buch- and Kunsthandlung, 1880), pp. 1–44, reproduces the manuscript in its present order, i.e. the list of fiefs is now fol. $7^{r–v}$ and places the miniatures in the appropriate places.

[12] According to Lorenz Diefenbach, *Glossarium Latino-Germanicum mediae et infimae aetatis* (Frankfurt a. M., 1857; repr., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997), p. 433, a *picarium* was a *Becher*. I am assuming that *cyphos* is derived from the Greek *kypellon*, a drinking cup, the English *cyphella*.

[13] Let me cite two other examples of misleading placements of entries in the Noichl edition. In 1168 Sigiboto obtained a ruling from the Count-Palatine of Bavaria, Otto V of Wittelsbach, that the Count was to obtain the *Hantgemal* because Sigiboto appeared to be the oldest in his *generatio* (no. 131). Noichl included this ruling among the conveyances, when the scribe in fact appended the notice to the original entry about the location of the *Hantgemal*

visible display of the Count's wealth and power on appropriate occasions, part of his self-representation.

Fourth, it is necessary to distinguish between the original portion of the manuscript written in conjunction with Sigiboto's impending departure for Italy in 1166 and the additions made in the three decades after his return. These additions enable one not only to study the changes in Sigiboto's property holdings and family relationships but also, I think, to detect a change in purpose. If, as we will see, the *Codex Falkensteinensis* was commissioned in 1166 to guide Sigiboto's father-in-law and men during his absence and in the eventuality of his death, it assumed later a more personal and private character as can be seen by the inclusion in the codex of such items as a notice about Sigiboto's penances (no. 182) or a prescription, written in German, for the treatment of kidney stones (no. 185). Although I am primarily concerned here with Sigiboto's original purpose for ordering the preparation of the codex, I believe that Sigiboto and his surviving son Sigiboto V may have commissioned in the 1190s the now lost German translation and continuation of the codex so that its increasingly private contents might be more directly accessible to them.[14]

Method of Production

The oldest section of the codex was the work of a single scribe, Noichl's F1, a canon of Herrenchiemsee, who had worked on the *Traditionsbuch* of that house of Augustinian canons. Perhaps he was chosen to draft the codex of the canons' advocate because of that prior expertise. He also drew the accompanying miniatures, but probably not the family portrait, and rubricated the initial letters and figures. The manuscript consisted from its inception of forty folios divided into six quires. F1 made entries only on the first nineteen folios, leaving not only the remaining half of the manuscript completely empty, but also considerable blank space, measuring from a half to a whole page, in the first section, especially in the part devoted to the

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at the beginning of the manuscript (now fol. 2) (no. 3). Similarly, Noichl published the two entries about the renders owed by the parish priest of Obing and the grant of the parsonage with its appurtenances to the parish priest (nos 161, 162) among the conveyances when the scribes had entered this information into the codex on fol. 13, in the middle of the pages devoted to the *Urbar* (fols 8–16^{v}). See Noichl, p. 37*. By doing so, she disrupted the scribes' account of how the Count tried to acquire property from his and his wife's relatives.

[14] For information about the German translation, which was last mentioned at the end of the seventeenth century, see Noichl, pp. 11*–17*. The German version was continued until at least 1231. Noichl was able to reconstruct partially the German text from the transcriptions made by the early modern scholars, Johannes Turmair Aventin, Wiguläus Hund, and Christoph Gewold. She published the surviving German translations in the headnotes to the Latin entries and the text of six German and Latin entries that do not appear in the Latin version in Anhang I, pp. 165–69.

Urbar.[15] The extensive vacant space suggests that Sigiboto was not as pessimistic about his chances of returning as the inscription on the portrait might imply, or at the very least, that he expected his sons to continue the project.

As Noichl indicated, the text shows signs of having been compiled in haste.[16] For example, F1 was able to identify some but not all the fiefs that Sigiboto held in Lower Austria from the Bishop of Passau (no. 2). Or, the canon listed in a separate notice at the beginning of the codex the patron saints, the endowment, and the churches responsible for the care of souls in the chapels of the Count's three Bavarian castles (no. 4), but incorporated the same information about the chapel at Hernstein into the *Urbar* (no. 80).[17]

The canon relied on a variety of sources, written and oral, to produce the codex. Noichl pointed out that in about a fifth of the conveyances Sigiboto is specifically identified in the publication clause as announcing the news: 'Count Sigiboto discloses [. . .]' ('Comes Siboto patefacit [. . .]') (no. 123). Such clauses were formulaic, as a look, say, at the *Traditionsbuch* of Herrenchiemsee shows,[18] and underscored the fact that in a secular lordship, unlike an ecclesiastical one where the community was the actor, a single individual exercised authority.[19] The use of such formulations in the *Urbar* to introduce the list of renders the Count received from each office (nos 5, 24, 44, 80) emphasized that the survey had been compiled at his express command.[20]

While Sigiboto himself was clearly not the source about how many eggs a particular farm paid each year (this was information he wished to obtain), the wording in the entries about the *Hantgemal* and his fiefs, though written in the third person, strongly suggest that he personally supplied F1 with this information.

> Lest it be concealed, therefore, to his descendants where that chirograph, which in the German tongue is called *Hantgemal*, namely his and his nephews', the sons of his

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[15] Noichl, pp. 23*–27*, 32*, 48*, 63*–64*, 66*–68*; and Freed, 'Bavarian Wine and Woolless Sheep', pp. 80–81.

[16] Noichl, pp. 41*–43*.

[17] A possible alternative explanation for why the chapel at Hernstein may have been treated differently is that the children of Sigiboto's deceased brother Herrand II had more extensive rights in that lordship than in the Upper Bavarian ones (nos 136, 150, 151, 152, 157, 158, 159, 160, 171, 172, 173).

[18] 'Codex traditionum Chiemseensium', in *Monumenta Boica*, vol. II (Munich: Typis Academicis, 1764), pp. 279–371.

[19] Noichl, pp. 54*–55*.

[20] As Heeg-Engelhart, in *Das älteste bayerische Herzogsurbar*, p. 75*, put it: 'Urbare sind Texte, in denen herrschaftliche Rechte und daraus fliessende Abgaben festgehalten sind; die Initiative dazu geht vom Grund- oder Vogtherrn aus. In den Titeln oder Einleitungen zu den landesfürstlich-bayerischen Urbaren wird dies sehr deutlich.'

> brother, is located, that it might be known to all, he makes to be written down here: that chirograph is the hide of the noble man located at Geislbach. (no. 3)[21]

In the case of the fiefs, the entire notice is written in the language of exhortation; for example: 'First, therefore and especially, he asks and admonishes that they (his retainers, friends, and kinsmen) act in regard to that fief, which he holds first of all from the Bishop of Passau' (no. 2).[22] We hear in such passages an echo of Sigiboto's own voice.

F1 entered into the codex on folios 17 through 19^{v} fifteen notices dealing with prior transactions. These entries were almost certainly transcriptions of original notices that had been written on separate pieces of parchment.[23] A primary motive for compiling a *Traditionsbuch* was to assemble such scattered notices in a single place before the originals were lost and, perhaps, to organize the material, not necessarily chronologically, for easier future reference. Thus the canon placed on folio 17, the beginning pages of the *Traditionsbuch*, the two notices about the temporary resolution of Sigiboto's quarrels with his nephews (nos 114, 115) and then started with the actual conveyances on the front side of folio 18, some of which had occurred before the family dispute. (Noichl rearranged the notices in chronological order, so that the two entries about the family dispute do not appear at the beginning of the *Traditionsbuch* in her edition.) The latter transactions were introduced with the words: 'Count Sigiboto discloses to all his men and to all to whom he wishes this to be known what or how much was freely given or delegated to him or he bought with his own money' (no. 119).[24] The canon did not enter into the codex two conveyances that were recorded by his successors, presumably because they dealt with the alienation rather than the acquisition of properties (nos 116, 118).

The convoluted account of how Sigiboto's paternal uncle Wolfker settled the Count's dispute with his brother's sons, a text that Noichl described as 'etwas schwer verständlich formuliert', provides the best illustration of how the scribe used the original notices and Sigiboto's own testimony — the notice slips twice into the first person ('nepos meus' instead of 'nepos suus') — to construct his own narrative.

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[21] 'Ne igitur posteros lateat suos, cyrographum, quod Teutonica lingua hantgemalehe vocatur, suum videlicet et nepotum suorum, filiorum scilicet sui fratris, ubi situm sit, ut hoc omnibus palam sit, hic fecit subscribere: cyrographum illud est nobilis viri mansus, sittus est apud Giselbach.'

[22] 'Primum itaque et precipue rogat et monet agere pro beneficio illo, quod habuit primum a Patauiensi episcopo.'

[23] Noichl, pp. 43*–44*. She identified the fifteen notices, p. 43*, n. 30, as nos 111a/b, 112, 114, 115, 117, 119–124, 126. These, counting no. 111a/b as two entries, are, however, only thirteen entries. The other two notices are presumably, nos 127 and 128, which F1 placed on fol. 19^{v}, but which Noichl dated '(ca. 1167–1168 vor August 4)'. She dated these two entries later because of the 'Duktus- und Tintenwechsel zu Nr. 117', which also appears on fol. 19^{v}; but it is not clear to me why these changes necessitate dating nos 127 and 128 after 1166.

[24] 'Comes Siboto patefacit cunctis suis et omnibus, quibus hoc cupit notum esse, quid vel quantum sibi sit sponte traditum vel delegatum vel propria pecunia emerit.'

According to Noichl, F1 combined two notices, one that dealt with Wolfker's resolution of the quarrel, sometime between 1155 and 1158, and a second one that described how Wolfker had earlier given various unfree individuals to Sigiboto and his brother Herrand II before the latter's death around 1155. The scribe indicated that the individuals who witnessed the settlement of the conflict were identical with the men who were present when Sigiboto entrusted Count Gebhard I of Burghausen with the property he had received from Wolfker as part of the family agreement (no. 114). In other words, to confuse matters even more, the transaction that followed the resolution of the quarrel (no. 114) was placed into the codex ahead of the account of the dispute (no. 115), presumably because the key point of the story for Sigiboto was that he had obtained his uncle's inheritance. Finally, a later scribe F2 appended to the end of the narrative the names of the men who had witnessed Wolfker's conferral of the unfree individuals to Sigiboto and Herrand II.[25] The fact that F2 was able to add the names indicates that FI did not dispose of the original notices after he transcribed them into the codex.

The most difficult part of F1's assignment was the compilation of the *Urbar*. To understand the magnitude of the canon's task, a few words need to be said about its organization and content. The Count's holdings were scattered between Wissing, north-east of Regensburg, and Bolzano, south of the Brenner Pass, and between Peissenberg, south-west of Munich, and Hernstein, south-west of Vienna. These domains were divided into four offices attached to his castles. For each office, F1 listed the renders that were paid by the individual farms (*Höfe*, *curtes*, *curiae*), hides (*Huben*, *mansi*), or unspecified holdings. There were separate entries about the number of rams each office supplied and the number of farms that specialized primarily, except in the lordship of Hernstein, in the raising of sheep (*Schwaigen*, *armenta*) and the number of cheeses each delivered.[26] There were additional entries about the number of vineyards and/or the peasants' obligation to transport wine in the offices of Falkenstein and Hernstein and about the cash payments the Count received from Hartmannsberg and Hernstein.[27] Karl Ramp calculated the total number of renders Sigiboto received annually from his estates: for example, 270 swine, 72 rams, 172 geese, 494 chickens, 7200 cheeses, 4700 eggs, 21¾ bushels (*Scheffeln*, *modii*) of wheat, 20¼ bushels of rye, 46½ bushels of oats, 23 bushels of beans, 11½ bushels of cabbages, 36½ bushels of turnips, and 50 loads of wine (50,000 liters?) — Ramp observed that such a yearly consumption of wine 'erscheint [. . .] reichlich viel'.[28]

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[25] Noichl, p. 79, headnote to no. 115.

[26] Most of the secondary literature states that cattle or a combination of cattle and sheep were raised on the *Schwaigen* in twelfth-century Bavaria, but sheep predominated until the fifteenth century. See Freed, 'Bavarian Wine and Woolless Sheep', pp. 103–06.

[27] Noichl, pp. 64*–65*.

[28] Karl Ramp, 'Studien zur Grundherrschaft Neuburg-Falkenstein auf Grund des "Codex diplomaticus Falkensteinensis"' (dissertation submitted to the Philosophical Faculty, Univer-

In general scribes utilized written documentation, most notably older *Urbare* where they existed, and oral testimony in constructing such a survey. Obtaining such information, let alone from the Count's distant holdings in Lower Austria, approximately three hundred kilometres away, would have required considerable time.[29] Internal evidence indicates that F1 had some written material at his disposal. The *Urbar* includes the income from the properties that the Count acquired in the transactions the canon recorded in the *Traditionsbuch*. For example, Sigiboto redeemed for £8 a mill in Antwort, south-west of Hartmannsberg, which his paternal grandfather Herrand I had pledged before going on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (no. 111); the renders paid by the mill were listed in the *Urbar* (no. 60).[30] Beyond that, there are hints that the procurators (*procurator*) of Neuburg and Hartmannsberg and the provosts (*prepositus*) of Falkenstein and Hernstein, the officials in charge of the *Urbar* offices, kept records.[31] In the case of Sigiboto's holdings at Wissing in the Upper Palatinate, the canon indicated that while he could not calculate all the services the property rendered, the procurator of Neuburg had sufficient information in his accounts ('sed procurator ipsius hoc satis in sua computatione retinet') (no. 22). The provost of Falkenstein was required to give an annual accounting of his expenses in his office ('ut ex suo officio annualiter [. . .] exhibeat de his, que sub sua cura habet, sine molestia comitis ex diversis inpensis') (no. 30). However, most of the information in the *Urbar* must have been obtained from oral testimony, though we have no indication how the inquest was conducted.

Intended Audience

Who was Sigiboto's intended audience, the 'all to whom he wishes this to be known' (no. 119), as FI put it in the publication clause of one conveyance? First, there were his young sons whom he addressed in the imperative in the inscription on the portrait. Second, he announced to all his vassals ('fideles') and especially to his own servile retainers ('proprios viros') in the notice beneath the portrait that he had appointed in the eventuality of his death his father-in-law, Count Kuno IV of Mödling, as his sons' guardian. He commanded five of his retainers to swear to Kuno IV in the presence of their peers that they would not permit their young lords to grant any of their income in fief until they had attained their majority. He admonished and ordered his

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sity of Munich, 1925), pp. 35–40. The quotation appears on p. 40. Ramp's calculations were based on the entire *Urbar* and did not take into account the changes that occurred over the decades and that were duly noted.

[29] Heeg-Engelhart, in *Das älteste bayerische Herzogsurbar*, pp. 74*, 108*. She stressed how long it took to compile the ducal *Urbar*.

[30] For other examples, see Freed, 'Bavarian Wine and Woolless Sheep', pp. 82–83.

[31] On the different titles, see Freed, 'Bavarian Wine and Woolless Sheep', pp. 81–82.

remaining men to swear to aid and counsel the five in the execution of their duties (no. 2). Sigiboto provided instructions to his men, friends, and kinsmen ('proprios et amicos cognatosque') in the feudatory that appeared in the original manuscript on the page facing the portrait what they were to do, if he died, about the fiefs he had received from diverse lords (no. 2). At least some of the members of Sigiboto's audience fell into more than one category; for instance, Otto of Hernstein, one of Kuno of Mödling's servile councilors, was specifically identified in the announcement of Kuno's appointment as the son of Sigiboto's paternal uncle Wolfker (no. 1). Sigiboto's friends were probably more than mere social acquaintances but his relatives by marriage in contrast to his blood relations, the *cognati*, that is, members of his affinity.[32] Presumably, Sigiboto and Kuno discussed the Count's affairs before his departure.

We have to assume that Kuno of Mödling would have had direct access to the codex during his son-in-law's absence, even if he could not read it himself, because as Michael Clanchy pointed out, even monetary accounts like the *Urbar* were read aloud and translated in the process.[33] But how were Sigiboto's wishes communicated to his vassals, retainers, friends, and kinsmen? The language in the announcement of Kuno's appointment and in the feudatory strongly suggests that these entries are a written rendition of Sigiboto's oral instructions. The scribe repeatedly used the verbs *moneo*, *hortor*, *jubeo*, *rogo*, and *commendo* as well as the phrase 'consilium dat'. F1 stated three times how concerned Sigiboto was about the four fiefs that were listed first in the feudatory. For example, the scribe noted: 'He most earnestly commands all his vassals that first of all they act and labor and spare no money or effort that they obtain for his sons these four fiefs, if he should die first, because he himself had acquired the fiefs for them' (no. 2).[34] Sigiboto may have spoken to his entourage

[32] Otto Brunner, *Land and Lordship: Structures of Governance in Medieval Austria*, trans. and with an introduction by Howard Kaminsky and James Van Horn Melton (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), pp. 16–18, indicated that a man's friends were his kinsmen with whom he was expected to live in peace and who were obligated to assist him in a feud. Joseph Morsel, *La noblesse contre le prince: l'espace social des Thüngen à la fin du moyen âge (Franconie, vers 1250–1525)* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2000), a study of one late medieval Franconian noble lineage and its network of social ties, subjected the word *friend*, which appears thirty-seven times in his sources, to a semantic analysis. After citing Brunner, Morsel (p. 54) wrote: 'Mais il s'agit surtout de l'affinité, c'est-à-dire des relations de parenté découlant d'une alliance matrimoniale. En effect, près de la moitié des occurrences de *freundschaft* désignent une alliance matrimoniale.' To Morsel's surprise, the friends were deeply involved in marriage negotiations and assisted in providing a daughter with a dowry (p. 106). Sigiboto specified that his sons were to give their sister a dowry 'secundum consilium amicorum' (no. 142).

[33] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p. 267.

[34] 'Itaque universis sibi fidelibus diligentissime commendat, ut primitus agant et elaborent nec rebus laboribusque suit parcant, quin hec quatuor beneficia suis filiis obtineant, si ipse prius vita excesserit, quam hec illis ipse obtineat.'

when they gathered to prepare for the campaign or on the eve of their departure. One possible occasion is when the Count and his nephew Sigiboto of Antwort resolved their outstanding differences in 1165 or 1166 in the presence of forty-eight witnesses at Urfahrn, north of Wasserburg (no. 118), the site of at least three other assemblies where important family business was conducted (nos 114, 115, 142, 175).[35] The very fact that Sigiboto's words were then recorded in a more objective form into the codex gave them, however, greater weight, perhaps even a quasi-sacred character. Perhaps, if Sigiboto had not returned, a German translation would have been read to his men, vassals, friends, and kinsmen to remind them of his departing oral instructions.

Motives

The four fiefs that so troubled Sigiboto were more than four hundred hides situated near Tulln and Sankt Pölten and elsewhere in Lower Austria, which he held from the Bishop of Passau; another four hundred hides, mainly in Austria, with which the sons of Count Gebhard I of Burghausen had enfeoffed him; nearly four hundred hides that Count Gebhard III of Sulzbach had granted him — probably the advocacy at Bad Aibling and possibly also the lordship of Hartmannsberg;[36] and one hundred

[35] The very public nature of such gatherings is made clear in no. 142. After listing forty-seven witnesses by name, the scribe added: 'Insuper aderant omnes, qui erant maioris nominis circa Niwemburch et Ualchensteine et Hademarsperch.' Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp. 253–93, discussed the relationship between the spoken word and the written record.

[36] Franz Tyroller, 'Die Mangfallgrafschaft', *Das bayerische Inn-Oberland*, 29 (1958), 101–02, 112–14, argued that Sigiboto IV's maternal grandmother, Adelaide, was the sister of Count Berengar II of Sulzbach, the father of Count Gebhard III, and that the Weyarns obtained Bad Aibling and Hartmannsberg through her. In addition, Sigiboto II was the advocate of Baumburg, the house of Augustinian canons that Berengar II had founded, another sign that Sigiboto had married Berengar's sister. Tyroller, *Genealogie des altbayerischen Adels*, pp. 216–17, no. 3. Gertrud Diepolder, 'Das Landgericht Auerburg', in Gertrud Diepolder, Richard van Dülmen, and Adolf Sandberger, *Rosenheim: Die Landgerichte Rosenheim und Auerburg und die Herrschaften Hohenaschau und Wildenwart*, Historischer Atlas von Bayern: Teil Altbayern, 38 (Munich: Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte, 1978), pp. 255–57, accepted the identification of Adelaide as a Sulzbach, but thought that the Sulzbach fiefs, except for the advocacy, were probably situated in Lower Austria.

As for Hartmannsberg, Adolf Sandberger, 'Die Herrschaften Hohenaschau und Wildenwart', in *Rosenheim*, p. 132, argued that since the renders from Sigiboto's advocacies in the Chiemgau over Salzburg's properties and Herrenchiemsee were paid to the office in Hartmannsberg (no. 72), Hartmannsberg may have been a Salzburg fief. The chief evidence to the contrary is, according to Sandberger, that Bishop Egno of Trent (1250–73) enfeoffed Duke Louis II of Bavaria (1253–74) in 1263 with all the fiefs of the late Count Sigiboto VI of Hartmannsberg. *Monumenta Wittelsbacensis: Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des Hauses Wittelsbach*, ed. by Franz Michael Wittmann, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, 5 (Munich: Beck, 1857), pp. 197–98, no. 82. However, in the feudatory

hides he had received from the younger Count-Palatine of Bavaria, Otto VI (no. 2). It is impossible to locate most of these fiefs, but if we accept Dollinger's estimate that a servile hide was approximately twelve hectares, then Sigiboto's four main fiefs would have been about 15,600 hectares or 38,548 acres at 2.471 acres per hectare. Even more land was at stake if the hides were free ones, approximately fifteen hectares in size, namely 19,500 hectares or 48,185 acres.[37] Regardless how accurate these figures are, the four fiefs in question were valuable properties.[38]

Sigiboto was worried that the ministerials of the Duke of Austria would receive the Austrian fiefs in *aneuel* (*Anfall*), in essence in wardship, during his sons' minority, and that these holdings would in fact be permanently lost, that is, that the Austrian ministerials would be proxies for the Babenbergs' acquisition of Sigiboto's lands.[39] This eventuality was to be prevented at all cost. In other words, Sigiboto commissioned the *Codex Falkensteinensis* because he felt threatened by his more powerful neighbours, the Dukes of Austria and Bavaria — he was no match for Heinrich Jasomirgott or Henry the Lion. As Clanchy aptly put it, 'Making records is initially a product of distrust rather than social progress.'[40]

The seemingly impressive list of Sigiboto's fiefs — he had been enfeoffed by three dukes, two count-palatines, two margraves, seven counts, an archbishop, four bishops, and an abbot[41] — was thus a sign not of strength but of weakness. As

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(no. 2), Sigiboto mentioned that he held four hundred hides from the Bishop of Trent and three advocacies from the Archbishop; there is no mention of the castle or lordship of Hartmannsberg. Moreover, merely because the Bishop identified Sigiboto VI as the Count of Hartmannsberg does not mean that the Falkensteins held Hartmannsberg from Trent. My guess is that the Trent fiefs included the vineyards in the South Tyrol that supplied the wine that was collected at Bolzano and was then transported across the Alps (nos 24, 30). Making Hartmannsberg a Sulzbach alod or fief is also problematic because Sigiboto IV's paternal grandfather Herrand I owned already before 1101 a mill at Antwort (no. 111a), which is situated only four kilometres south-west of Hartmannsberg and which then was the residence of Sigiboto IV's nephew Sigiboto of Antwort. While Antwort may have been so-called *Streubesitz*, the more likely explanation is that the Falkensteins possessed Hartmannsberg before Rudolf married Gertrude of Weyarn, Adelaide's daughter.

[37] Philippe Dollinger, *L'évolution des classes rurales en Bavière depuis la fin de l'époque carolingienne jusqu'au milieu du XIII^e siècle*, Publications de la Faculté des letters de l'Université de Strasbourg, 112 (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1949), p. 108. The German edition is the somewhat misleadingly titled *Der bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Franz Irsigler and trans. by Ursula Irsigler (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982), p. 109.

[38] The location of the fiefs, particularly the eight hundred hides in Lower Austria, poses a major problem. See Freed, 'Bavarian Wine and Woolless Sheep', pp. 86–89.

[39] On the meaning of the word *aneuel*, see Freed, 'Artistic and Literary Representations', p. 238, n. 10.

[40] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p. 6.

[41] Noichl, p. 70*.

Rösener pointed out, Sigiboto was a vassal of his supposed peers,[42] a gross violation of the *Heerschildordnung*, the military order of precedence, a theoretical construct that prohibited a man from holding a fief from his equals.[43] Sigiboto did in fact enfeoff one person who was not merely his peer but his superior. In 1168/69 Sigiboto subenfeoffed Margrave Engelbert III of Kraiburg with the advocacy over Herrenchiemsee's property in the Grassauertal, a valley south of the Chiemsee, and in the Leukental, essentially the latter territorial court (*Landgericht*) at Kitzbühel in the Tyrol, both of which the Count held from the Archbishop of Salzburg (no. 2).[44] To avoid paying homage to an inferior, two of the Margrave's men kissed Sigiboto on Engelbert's behalf (no. 133). Perhaps the Count also made use of proxies to pay homage to his peers. Other than Margrave Engelbert, all of Sigiboto's own vassals were, with one exception as far as I can tell, ministerials of other lords: among others, the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Kraiburg-Ortenburgs (no. 106).[45] Such

[42] Rösener, 'Beobachtungen', pp. 141–42.

[43] On the *Heerschildordnung*, see Julius Ficker, *Vom Heerschilde: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte* (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1862; repr., Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1964).

[44] The charter recording Sigiboto's enfeoffment with the advocacy in 1158 is *Salzburger Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Hauthaler and Martin, II, 462–65, no. 333.

[45] The Salzburg ministerials included Otto, Henry, and Liutpold of Wald; Conrad, Liutpold, and Berthold of Froschham; Eckhart III of Tann; Megingod II of Surberg; Rudolf II of Itzling; William of Wonneberg; Engilram of Egerdach; Kuno II of Schnaitsee; and Conrad of Aschau. For a list of the archiepiscopal ministerials, see Freed, *Noble Bondsmen*, pp. 274–78. Witigo of Haunsberg was a Haunsberg retainer (*Salzburger Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Hauthaler and Martin, I, 447, no. 360). This is one of the few links between Sigiboto and the Haunsbergs, who shared the same *Hantgemal* with the Falkensteins (no. 3). Sigiboto was not a vassal of the Haunsbergs. According to the list, Magan and his brother Otto had been enfeoffed with £10 at Bad Reichenhall, presumably from the salt springs there, and with eight hides. I assume that this Magan is Magan II of Stefling, the son of Magan I of Türken who had been subenfeoffed in 1166 according to the list of Sigiboto's fiefs with £8 that the Count held from Count Conrad of Peilstein (no. 2). Magan I of Türken, a Burghausen ministerial, had married the unnamed daughter of another Burghausen ministerial, Henry I of Stefling. After the extinction of the Burghausens in 1168, the Türkens, who adopted the name Stefling, switched their allegiance to the Burghausens' nephews, the Counts of Plain. Magan II's brother Otto I was an archiepiscopal ministerial. See Freed, *Noble Bondsmen*, pp. 74–76. The Kraiburg-Ortenburg ministerials included Sigiboto of Mörmoosen, who was Sigiboto's servile first cousin (Noichl, p. 169, headnote to no. 106); Henry of Törring (no. 120; some of the Törrings subsequently became archiepiscopal ministerials); Bruno of Kraiburg; and Dietmar of Westerberg (see Johann Mayerhofer, 'Codex traditionum Augiensium', in *Drei bayerische Traditionsbücher*, p. 103, no. 77). Henry of Ölling, who held eight hides in fief, was identified in no. 143 as a ministerial. He was listed on this occasion between Henry of Burghausen and Sigiboto's servile cousin, the Andechs ministerial Lazarus of Wolfratshausen (Noichl, pp. 4–5, headnote to no. 2). Wernhard of Schörfling (near Vöcklabruck, Upper Austria), whose sons

vassalic ties reinforced Sigiboto's own links to the ministerials' masters, most of whom were his own feudal lords. In short, the lists of Sigiboto's active and passive fiefs suggest that the Falkensteins occupied a marginal position among the Bavarian comital dynasties.

Sigiboto may have had more personal reasons for commissioning the codex. The last datable references to Sigiboto's father, Rudolf of Falkenstein, occur in the mid-1130s.[46] The young Count appeared as a witness by himself around 1139;[47] it is highly unlikely that a thirteen-year-old would have served in such a capacity if his father had still been alive or at least actively involved in earthly affairs. It is quite possible that Sigiboto's paternal uncle Wolfker had acted as the Count's guardian; this might explain why Wolfker was still in the mid-1150s in possession of Rudolf's share of the castle of Hernstein (no. 114). Sigiboto may thus have known from bitter experience what it meant to be a fatherless boy in twelfth-century Bavaria.

Sigiboto himself had treated his orphaned nephews wretchedly. After his brother's death around 1155 (had he been a victim of Barbarossa's first Italian campaign and would Herrand II's fate explain the Count's anxiety in 1165/66?), Sigiboto complained that his nephew, presumably Sigiboto of Antwort who is mentioned more frequently in the codex than his brother Herrand III, had, among other things, seized three children whom the free wife of one of Sigiboto's men had borne and had

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held four hides, may have been a retainer of Sigiboto's son-in-law Engelschalk of Wasen (no. 143) because the Wasens were the founders of the parish church in Schörfling. See Peter Feldbauer, *Der Herrenstand in Oberösterreich: Ursprünge, Anfänge, Frühformen*, Sozial- und wirtschaftshistorische Studien (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1972), p. 92. Hartmann of Nussdorf was called a noble in no. 115. I have not been able to identify Henry of Vogtareuth, Godfrey of Schwanenstadt, and Arnold of Indernbuch.

[46] Rudolf witnessed the foundation charter of Weyarn in 1133 (*Salzburger Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Hauthaler and Martin, II, 234–36, no. 158). After founding Weyarn, Rudolf's father-in-law became a lay brother. Rudolf was the first witness when Sigiboto II, identified as a *conversus* 'de Wiaer', served as the proctor for Provost Eberwin of Berchtesgaden (1102/05–*c.* 1107 and again from before 1121 to 1141). Sigiboto IV as well as Rudolf's brother Wolfker accompanied Rudolf on this occasion. *Schenkungsbuch der ehemaligen gefürsteten Probstei Berchtesgaden*, ed. by Karl August Muffat, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, 1 (Munich, 1856; repr., Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1969), pp. 257–58, nos 33, 34. Tyroller, 'Die Mangfallgrafschaft', p. 102, placed the death of Sigiboto II in 1140, but four years later in his *Genealogie des altbayerischen Adels* (p. 216, no. 3) offered evidence for a death date of 1136. In other words, the transaction recorded in the Berchtesgaden *Traditionsbuch* can be dated either from 1133 to 1136 or from 1133 to 1140, and in any case no later than 1141. The only other definite information that we have about Rudolf after 1133 is that he died as a monk in Seeon on March 23rd. 'Necrologium Seonense', *Dioecesis Salisburgensis*, ed. by Sigismund Herzberg-Fränkel, MGH NG, 2 (Berlin: Weidmann Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1904; repr., Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1983), p. 222.

[47] *Salzburger Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Hauthaler and Martin, I, 621, no. 78.

occupied the market in the village of Obing, north of Hartmannsberg.[48] Sigiboto's feudal lords, friends, vassals, and retainers had urged him to desist until his nephews attained their majority and he had agreed; but then Wolfker, grief struck about the family dissension, turned over to Sigiboto his share of the Falkenstein inheritance to end the dispute (no. 115). It may well be that Wolfker was all along the real object of Sigiboto's complaints. The really striking thing is, however, that this account of Sigiboto's treatment of his nephews, written in part in the first person, with its subtext of the societal critique of the Count's conduct, appears in his own *Traditionsbuch* and not, say, in some monastic narrative about how the relatives of a donor challenged his gift or how the advocate abused his authority. One can only wonder how Wolfker or Sigiboto of Antwort would have described the Count's behaviour. Sigiboto thus had good reason in 1166 to fear the fate that might await his young sons. Perhaps he even worried that Sigiboto of Antwort, his closest male relative and heir, except for the boys, might take his revenge. Such concerns would explain why Sigiboto had resolved his remaining differences with his nephew, even resigning his rights to various properties, before he left for Italy (no. 118).

The Eclipse of 1133

Finally, scholars have overlooked one important clue for understanding why Sigiboto commissioned the codex and how it was produced. In 1193 scribe F11 wrote at the top of the first page of the manuscript, which had been left blank in 1166, that fifty-nine years earlier there had been an eclipse of the sun (the eclipse occurred on 2 August 1133) and that twelve years later (correctly fourteen years) King Conrad III had gone on the Second Crusade (no. 184).[49] Why would anyone record this seemingly trivial information half a century or more after the fact, let alone on the first page? (Noichl obscured the potential significance of this entry by publishing it at the end of her edition in the category, 'Verschiedene Einträge'.) In fact, this is not the only reference to the eclipse. Earlier, sometime in the 1170s or 1180s, scribe F3 had appended to the misleading, if not deliberately falsified, genealogy of the Counts of Falkenstein on the very last page of the codex that Sigiboto had been seven at the time of the eclipse (no. 181).[50] The information about the eclipse is so personal and idiosyncratic that it is hard to believe that it was not included in the codex on both occasions at Sigiboto's express command, but why?

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[48] On this insignificant market, see Ramp, 'Studien zur Grundherrschaft Neuburg-Falkenstein', pp. 50–51.

[49] 'MC nonagesimo III, LX uno minus anni a tenebris in die factis; post id XII annis expeditio Cvnradi regis facta est.'

[50] 'Quando tenebre facte sunt super omnem terram, tunc fuerunt dies annorum comitis Sigbotonis septem.' On the genealogy, see Noichl, pp. 73*–77*; and Freed, *Counts of Falkenstein*, pp. 33–35.

Besides making a lifelong impression on a young boy, the eclipse was associated with one of the major events in Sigiboto's life. He had accompanied his father Rudolf to Salzburg and was present on 9 July 1133, less than a month before the eclipse, when his maternal grandfather, Sigiboto II of Weyarn, already styling himself a former Count, announced that he had founded and endowed with the consent of his relatives a house of Augustinian canons in Weyarn for the benefit of his soul and the souls of his wife Adelaide, his children Sigiboto III and Gertrude, and all his ancestors. Sigiboto II gave the house to the church of Salzburg with the stipulation that if a future archbishop used his foundation for any other purpose than Sigiboto II had intended, his closest blood relative ('proximus nostre consanguinitati') would have the right to redeem the donation by paying a bezant on the altar of St Rupert's in Salzburg. Archbishop Conrad I (1106–47) received the donation in the presence of Bishop Reginmar of Passau (1121–38) and made a substantial gift to Weyarn. At Sigiboto II's request the Archbishop appointed Rudolf as Weyarn's advocate on the condition that if he abused his authority and did not mend his ways after the fourth warning, the canons could select a new advocate. The first two witnesses were Rudolf, identified already as the advocate, and his son Sigiboto, the first time Sigiboto IV is known to have witnessed a public transaction.[51] The old Count joined either Weyarn or Berchtesgaden as a lay brother.[52]

The foundation charter of Weyarn contains the only known reference to Sigiboto IV's maternal uncle, Sigiboto III.[53] The appointment of Sigiboto II's son-in-law rather than son as the advocate of Weyarn indicates that Sigiboto III was almost certainly dead by 1133 and that the young Sigiboto IV was the closest living male member of Sigiboto II's consanguinity. His presence at and consent to the foundation of Weyarn was thus essential. Sigiboto III's death may well have been the cause for the flagrantly consanguineous and canonically illegal marriage of Sigiboto IV's parents: both of them seem to have been the descendants in the male line of Patto of Dilching, the advocate of Tegernsee in the first decades of the eleventh century, and thus either second cousins (3:3 degree) or even first cousins once removed (2:3

[51] *Salzburger Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Hauthaler and Martin, II, 234–36, no. 158. On Weyarn, see Stefan Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik im 12. Jahrhundert: Der Erzbischof Konrad I. von Salzburg (1106–1147) und die Regularkanoniker*, Kölner historische Abhandlungen, 24 (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1975), pp. 58–60.

[52] *Schenkungsbuch der ehemaligen gefürsteten Probstei Berchtesgaden*, ed. by Muffat, p. 257, no. 33. See Freed, *Counts of Falkenstein*, p. 21, n. 37.

[53] Tyroller, *Genealogie des altbayerischen Adels*, p. 217, no. 5, cited an alleged reference to Sigiboto III. According to an entry in the *Traditionsbuch* of Herrenchiemsee that the eighteenth-century editor dated around 1130, Count Sigiboto of Hartmannsberg, his wife Adelaide, and his son Sigiboto gave Antwort to the canons. 'Codex traditionum Chiemseensium', p. 365, no. 142. The entry must be dated, however, between 1204/07 and 1217. See Freed, *Counts of Falkenstein*, p. 56, n. 28. The individuals in question were Sigiboto V, his wife Adelaide of Valley, and his son Sigiboto VI.

degree).[54] What made the marriage so attractive was that it reunited the lands and lordships of the Weyarn-Falkenstein clan located along the Mangfall and Inn. The year of the eclipse, 1133, was thus the moment when Count Sigiboto II of Weyarn-Neuburg transferred his lordship to the Falkensteins and the young Sigiboto IV became, as his grandfather's heir, the Count of Neuburg. No wonder that he associated the eclipse with his genealogy.[55]

In 1193 Sigiboto was confronted by another dynastic crisis. His older son Kuno had left on the Third Crusade,[56] and by January 1193 at the latest Sigiboto knew that Kuno was dead.[57] Sigiboto V married around 1197 Adelaide, the daughter of Count Conrad II of Valley (no. 175).[58] The Falkensteins and Valleys were neighbours in the Mangfall valley. After Sigiboto's return from Italy, he had allied with Count Gebhard II of Wasserburg and Henry of Stoffersberg against Conrad II and his brother Otto II of Valley (nos 130, 138). Sigiboto V's marriage to Adelaide may thus have been intended to end the enmity and perhaps also to forge a familial connection to the new Wittelsbach dukes of Bavaria because the Valleys were a cadet branch of the Counts of Scheyern-Wittelsbach.[59] It is also possible that the German translation and continuation of the *Codex Falkensteinensis* was commissioned in conjunction with Sigiboto V's marriage and the pending transfer of the lordship to him because

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[54] Noichl, pp. 73*–77*, made the case that Sigiboto's parents were second cousins, whereas Freed, *Counts of Falkenstein*, pp. 14–15, 22–28, argued that they may have been even more closely related.

[55] As Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp. 301–02, indicated, events were frequently dated from a memorable event, in Sigiboto's case the eclipse, as well as from the incarnation.

[56] 'Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris, edita a quodam Austriensi clerico, qui eidem interfuit, nomine Ansbertus', ed. by Hippolyt Tauschinski and Mathias Pangerl, *Codex Strahoviensis*, Fontes rerum Austriacarum, Erste Abteilung, 5 (Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1863), p. 16.

[57] When Sigiboto's niece and her family sold their Austrian possessions on 13 June 1190, the agreement specified that the properties were to belong to the Count and his sons ('filiis eius') (no. 171). In January 1193 Judith's second husband, Albero IV Lupus (Wolf) of Bocksberg, acknowledged that he had received the money for the property and would hand it over by the specified date to Sigiboto's son ('filio') if Count Sigiboto the Elder had died in the interim (no. 173).

[58] Noichl dated the entry around 1196, but see note 1 above for why the notice should probably be dated around 1197. The name of Sigiboto's daughter-in-law is not stated in the notice, but see note 53 above for the evidence that she was named Adelaide.

[59] On the Valleys, see Günther Flohrschütz, *Der Adel des ebersberger Raumes im Hochmittelalter*, Schriftenreihe zur bayerischen Landesgeschichte, 88 (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1989), pp. 153–62; and Tyroller, 'Die Mangfallgrafschaft', pp. 103, 121–23.

Noichl argued that it was prepared in the second half of the 1190s by scribe F11, the author of the 1193 notice about the eclipse and the Second Crusade (no. 184).[60]

Kuno's death on the Third Crusade may have prompted Sigiboto to reflect upon the earlier campaign. We have no definite evidence that Sigiboto went on the Second Crusade, though the notice about Conrad III may be a hint that he did; but we do know that Heinrich Jasomirgott, the King's younger Babenberg half-brother and at the time the Duke of Bavaria and Margrave of Austria and Sigiboto's feudal lord (no. 2), participated. In addition, if Franz Tyroller was right that Sigiboto's maternal grandmother, Adelaide of Weyarn, was the sister of Count Berengar II of Sulzbach, then Sigiboto's mother, Gertrude, would have been the first cousin of Conrad III's queen, another Gertrude (died 1146) and the daughter of Berengar II.[61] At twenty-one Sigiboto, whose paternal grandfather Herrand had set forth for Jerusalem (no. 111a), would have been just the right age for such an adventure, and it is hard to imagine that he would have resisted for long, if he resisted at all, the call to aid the beleaguered Christians in the Holy Land.

Except, possibly, for one notice, there is not a single entry in the *Traditionsbuch* that has to be dated before Sigiboto's presumed return in 1148.[62] The apparent exception is a notice that indicates that Sigiboto owned the tithes at Hernstein because his Uncle Wolfker had received them in an exchange with the monastery of Melk, at which Margrave Leopold of Austria, that is, either Leopold III (1095–1136) or his son Leopold IV (1136–41), and an unnamed Bishop of Passau had been present. This transaction must thus have occurred before Leopold IV's death on 18 October 1141. Scribe F3 cited as proof a chirograph that Melk possessed and that was contained in that very book ('quod testificatur cyrographum, quod habet ecclesia Medelich et liber iste continet') (no. 110). Noichl thought that in this case 'cyrographum' did not mean simply a charter but a real chirograph that was probably kept loosely in the codex itself ('liber iste') and subsequently lost,[63] that is, Melk had retained its half, while Sigiboto had presumably inherited the other half from Wolfker.

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[60] Noichl, pp. 16*–17*.

[61] Tyroller, *Genealogie des altbayerischen Adels*, p. 197, Tafel 14 A; pp. 199–200, nos 14–15; p. 202, no. 26; pp. 216–17, no. 3; and Karl Lechner, *Die Babenberger: Markgrafen und Herzöge von Österreich 976–1246*, in Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 23 (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1976; repr., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985), p. 149. There is not the slightest hint of this possible royal connection in the codex.

[62] Noichl, p. 74, headnote to no. 111, relying on Tyroller, 'Die Mangfallgrafschaft', p. 104, dated no. 111 *c*. 1145 because Sigiboto was identified as a Count, a designation that appears allegedly no earlier than around 1145. Besides the fact that Sigiboto was called a Count already in *Salzburger Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Hauthaler and Martin, I, 621, no. 78, which is dated around 1139, there is no reason why no. 111 cannot be dated a few years after 1145. She dates no. 112 'ca. 1145–ca. 1150', so there is no problem dating it after 1147.

[63] Noichl, pp. 73–74, headnote to no. 110.

While her interpretation may be correct, I want to raise five possible objections. First, if the original document was already in the codex, why was it necessary to summarize its contents in a separate notice? Second, this entry, in spite of its early date, was not part of the original manuscript. Instead, scribe F3, who drafted many of the notices between the late 1160s and 1189,[64] placed this entry on the reverse side of folio 30; he put on the front side two entries that are dated around 10 May 1189 (nos 169, 170). Thus it seems plausible that this entry was also made around 1189. Third, since F1 included in the original manuscript a notice about an exchange that Sigiboto had made with Weyarn, a transaction that might even have been financially though not spiritually disadvantageous to the Count (no. 123), why did F1 not also copy into the codex the information contained in Wolfker's chirograph, assuming such a document was in Sigiboto's possession in 1166? Fourth, the word *cyrographum* was used in two other entries in the codex for charters in general and not in the specialized sense of modern diplomatics. Besides F1's dubious translation of *Hantgemal* as a chirograph (perhaps F1 used the word to mean proof, in the sense that the two halves of a chirograph were proof of an agreement (no. 3)), scribe F4 indicated in the late 1160s that Sigiboto possessed two 'cyrographa' about his advocacies, namely, one about the advocacy of Herrenchiemsee that was kept at St Peter am Madron and the other about the advocacy of St Peter's that was preserved at Herrenchiemsee (no. 103). These now lost chirographs were presumably copies of the extant sealed charters that were kept in Salzburg and Freising and that are dated 1158 and 1163, respectively.[65] Clearly, valuable documents were not stored loosely in the codex. Fifth and even more significantly, Sigiboto does not seem to have owned a copy of the 1133 foundation charter of Weyarn that had granted the advocacy to Rudolf of Falkenstein and implicitly to his descendants. I would propose instead that Sigiboto possessed the tithes at Hernstein but lacked a written legal title to them. Scribe F3 added the notice to the codex, perhaps in 1189, to explain the origins of that right and cited as proof a document that was in Melk's possession and recorded in one of its books (a *Traditionsbuch*?); perhaps Sigiboto had even sent a cleric to Melk to find out. In short, there is no evidence that the Falkensteins preserved any documents, including the foundation charter of Weyarn, prior to Sigiboto's return from the Second Crusade.

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[64] Noichl, p. 49*.

[65] *Salzburger Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Hauthaler and Martin, II, 462–65, no. 333; and Wiguläus Hund, *Metropolis Salisburgensis*, ed. by Christoph Gewold (Munich, 1620), III, 97–98. See Noichl, pp. 61*–62*. For additional information on chirographs, see Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp. 87–88. Declercq, 'Originals and Cartularies', pp. 164–65, provides some insight into why Sigiboto did not include the episcopal charters granting him the advocacies in the *Traditionsbuch*. He points out that between the ninth and eleventh centuries royal diploma were not copied into east Frankish books of conveyances because they retained 'their full probative value only as originals'. Sigiboto may have felt the same about his episcopal charters.

Besides starting the family archive, Sigiboto reorganized his estates. According to Dollinger, Bavaria was in the twelfth century in the midst of an agricultural revolution. Lords ceased to farm their demesnes themselves and leased instead most of their holdings to tenants paying rents in kind and cash. These rent-paying properties were then grouped into offices that encompassed the former manors and other holdings in a fairly large area, often centred around a castle in a lay lordship,[66] that is, precisely the agricultural regime and administrative system that the *Urbar* in the *Codex Falkensteinensis* describes. While Sigiboto continued to cultivate or manage directly a few properties, he had rented out most of his lands. As Rösener put it, the organizational structure revealed by the Falkenstein *Urbar* shows 'erstaunlich moderne Züge'.[67] Since this administrative system had been imposed upon both Sigiboto's paternal inheritance, Falkenstein and Hernstein, and his maternal one, Neuburg and possibly Hartmannsberg, the Count must have been the instigator of this reorganization.

Frederick Barbarossa's summons in 1166 may have triggered the commissioning of the *Codex Falkensteinensis*, but assembling the documents Sigiboto had collected in a *Traditionsbuch* and inventorying his rent-paying properties in an *Urbar* were the logical next steps in the administrative reforms that had preoccupied the beleaguered Count of Neuburg in the nearly two decades after his return from the disastrous Second Crusade. Sigiboto may have presented himself in the portrait as the Lord Count Sigiboto, even presumptuously donning a princely coronet; but he was painfully aware that free noble families like the Falkensteins, even if his father had obtained comital rank for his dynasty by marrying his distant cousin Gertrude of Weyarn-Neuburg, were no match for their more powerful comital and ducal neighbours who were consolidating their territorial lordships.[68] The *Codex Falkensteinensis* is a testimony to Sigiboto's weakness, not his strength.

As Sigiboto's instructions to his retainers, friends, and kinsmen (no. 2), the description of the *Hantgemal* (no. 3), or the account of his dispute with his nephews (no. 115) attest, he was actively involved in the preparation of the codex. To his surprise, perhaps, he returned from Italy, and entries continued to be made until Sigiboto's withdrawal from the world or his death around 1198. Noichl identified an additional ten scribes, canons of Herrenchiemsee, who entered notices in the codex after 1166, as well as five other individuals who each wrote a single entry.[69] The

[66] Dollinger, *L'évolution des classes rurales*, pp. 122–43, or *Der bayerische Bauernstand*, ed. by Irsigler and trans. by Irsigler, pp. 121–39.

[67] Rösener, 'Beobachtungen', pp. 130–35; the quotation is on p. 132 and there are similar words on p. 159. The cartulary of the Counts of Barcelona was created after the reorganization of the comital archives in 1178. Kosto, 'The *Liber feudorum maior*', pp. 3–4, 8. I discuss Sigiboto's reorganization of his estates in 'Bavarian Wine and Woolless Sheep', pp. 100–03.

[68] For further information on territorialization in medieval Germany, see Benjamin Arnold, *Princes and Territories in Medieval Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[69] Noichl, pp. 48*–51*.

scribes who recorded subsequent property acquisitions in the *Traditionsbuch* were careful to note also the income from the new holdings in the *Urbar*.[70] The one constant in the creation of the *Codex Falkensteinensis* was Sigiboto himself, and it is hard to believe that he did not use it. We will never know whether he could read it himself or relied upon a cleric to read it to him in Latin or in a German translation, but I am inclined to think that he had at least a rough command of Latin, comparable to the working knowledge of English many people in third-world countries possess today, and that the tortured Latin of the inscription on the portrait or of the so-called 'murder letter' (no. 183), the most personal expressions of his feelings, may even be transcriptions of the Count's own words.

Any attempt to ascertain whether the *Codex Falkensteinensis* was unique in its creation or merely in its survival hinges in large measure on how unusual Sigiboto's pragmatic literacy was in twelfth-century Bavaria. James Westfall Thompson painted a rather negative picture of lay literacy in Germany; indeed, he thought there might have been 'a wider diffusion of Latin learning among the laity in the last years of the Salian period than in the Hohenstaufen era'.[71] In contrast, Rosamond McKitterick, in opposition to Henri Pirenne and Pierre Riché, argued for fairly widespread literacy in the Carolingian period,[72] and Adam J. Kosto has recently uncovered evidence not only for lay literate practices in tenth-century Catalonia but even for the existence of lay archives.[73] Carolingian and Catalonian evidence proves nothing about Hohenstaufen Bavaria, but Sigiboto's initial commissioning of the codex makes little sense if he did not assume that his father-in-law and eventually his sons would use it. It is worth remembering that the Count was not a younger son like the highly literate Philip of Swabia who was initially destined for an ecclesiastical career, but that Sigiboto was already the heir to the combined Falkenstein-Weyarn patrimony when he made his first appearance in the documentary record at the age of seven in Salzburg. One of the many mysteries of Sigiboto's 'murder letter' is how the recipient, the Babenberg ministerial Ortwin of Merkenstein, could have kept the Count's mandate 'secret' if he could not read it (no. 183).[74] Like the Bavarian churches, Sigiboto kept written records of the decisions of judicial assemblies or courts, for

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[70] Freed, 'Bavarian Wine and Woolless Sheep', pp. 92–93.

[71] James Westfall Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages*, University of California Publications in Education, 9 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939; repr., New York: Burt Franklin, 1960), pp. 94–100. The quotation is on p. 98.

[72] Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 36–37, 60, 126, 211–70.

[73] Adam J. Kosto, 'Laymen, Clerics, and Documentary Practices in the Early Middle Ages: The Example of Catalonia', *Speculum*, 80 (2005), 44–74, esp. pp. 60–63.

[74] 'Mandatum istud, quod demandamus in secreto'. On the murder letter, see Patrick J. Geary and John B. Freed, 'Literacy and Violence in Twelfth-Century Bavaria: The "Murder Letter" of Count Siboto IV', *Viator*, 25 (1994), 115–29.

example, the resolution of his quarrel with his nephews (nos 114, 115) or the ruling of the Count-Palatine of Bavaria on 4 August 1168 awarding Sigiboto possession of the *Hantgemal* (no. 131). Why should Sigiboto's peers not have sought similar documentation and maintained comparable records? Sigiboto was, to borrow a phrase from McKitterick, a member of the 'literate community' of Herrenchiemsee.[75] It is reasonable to assume that Kuno of Mödling, as the advocate of Au and Gars, may have enjoyed similar relations with those Augustinian collegiate churches. The *Codex Falkensteinensis* survives because the Bishop of Freising apparently acquired the manuscript when he purchased in 1245 the Falkensteins' alods from Sigiboto's grandson.[76] The records of other Bavarian dynasts may simply not have been the beneficiaries of such a fortuitous accident.

[75] McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 77–134, discussed lay participation in the 'literate community' of St Gall.

[76] Noichl, p. 11*.

The Power of Love: Representations of Kingship in the Love-Songs of Henry VI and Frederick II, and in the Manesse Codex and the *Liber ad honorem Augusti* of Peter of Eboli

JEFFREY ASHCROFT

In later twelfth-century Germany, courtly lyric and narrative poetry from their first manifestations *c*. 1170 have as one of their central functions the demonstration of royal and aristocratic power, prestige, and cultural aspiration, creating and propagating a symbolic system of courtly moral and aesthetic values, by means of which the nobility evolves a group identity and solidarity which demarcate it from the extra-courtly world.[1] At the court of Frederick I Barbarossa in the 1180s, the Hohenstaufen dynasty identifies itself explicitly with the new courtly ethos and its literature.[2] At the spectacular court festival at Mainz in 1184, which celebrated the knighting of Barbarossa's sons, the young King Henry (VI) and Frederick, Duke of Swabia, matters of state were combined with chivalric tournament and festivity graced by courtly lyric.[3] The example of Occitan troubadors, brought to Mainz by the Empress Beatrice, a patron of Romance lyric since her youth at the court of Burgundy, stimulated the composition of love-song in the German vernacular in the second half of the 1180s by a group of nobles and ministerials whose most prestigious member was King Henry himself. That a king and future emperor should choose to inaugurate and legitimize secular erotic lyric in this way is a mark of the

[1] For an overview, see Joachim Bumke, *Höfische Kultur: Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter*, 2 vols (Munich: D.T.V., 1986).

[2] See William Henry Jackson, 'Knighthood and the Hohenstaufen Imperial Court under Frederick Barbarossa (1152–1190)', in *The Ideals and Practice of Knighthood III*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1990), pp. 101–20.

[3] See Bumke, *Höfische Kultur*, especially I, 276–81.

recognition which the imperial court gave to the new courtly literature at its inaugural stage. It did not remain unique as a royal endorsement of love-song even in the Hohenstaufen dynasty: Henry VI's son, Frederick II, appears as lyric poet in the manuscript transmission of Sicilian love-poetry in a similarly inaugural phase of Italian secular courtly literature.

Characteristic of this first stage of Minnesang at the court of Barbarossa is the way in which poet-singers embody in performance a lyric persona which the audience is invited to identify with the author himself, whose ostensible self-representation as noble lover derives legitimacy and exemplary value from his known and quantifiable personal and public prestige.[4] The impact and interest of this metonymic relationship between authorial identity and lyric subject must have been unusually acute when the poet-performer was King Henry himself, and when, in one of the three extant songs attributed to him, his theme is the king made subject to the power of love.[5] I shall argue that, in this song, the representation of power is problematized in a way that shows an early awareness of tensions which inhere in the relationship between the 'representative appearance' and the 'appearance of representation', between the lyric exploitation of public images of representation and the depiction of values and attitudes which might seem not to be publicly presentable.[6] We may surmise that the song provoked controversy in its original context of reception, and to a modern historian it does seem remarkably unorthodox in its themes and metaphors. Exceptionally, two revealing iconographical comparators are available which provide some relevant evidence of how contemporary and later medieval recipients might have assessed it. The Manesse Codex, the most comprehensive manuscript of secular German lyric poetry from the later twelfth to the early fourteenth centuries, inaugurates its anthology with a miniature of Henry VI which is simultaneously a representative image of the genre's royal patron and an acutely observed illustration of the love-song in which Henry plays ironically with the themes of kingship and power.[7] The *Liber ad honorem Augusti* in which Peter of Eboli, working between

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[4] Compare the discussion and bibliographical references in Jeffrey Ashcroft, 'Renovatio Amoris – Translatio Imperii: Hausen und Eneas', in *Mittelalterliche Lyrik: Probleme der Poetik*, ed. by Thomas Cramer and Ingrid Kasten (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1999), pp. 57–84.

[5] See Peter Wapnewski, 'Kaiserlied und Kaisertopos: Zu Kaiser Heinrich 5,16', in Wapnewski, *Waz ist Minne: Studien zur mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik* (Munich: Beck, 1975), pp. 47–64; and Volker Mertens, 'Kaiser und Spielmann: Vortragsrollen in der höfischen Lyrik', in *Höfische Literatur, Hofgesellschaft, Höfische Lebensformen um 1200,* ed. by Gert Kaiser and Jan-Dirk Müller, Studia Humaniora, 6 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1986), pp. 455–69.

[6] In my argument, 'representation' refers to the concretization of ideas and concepts of power in imagery and iconography, and also connotes the sense — particularly expressed in the German noun *Repräsentation* — of the ideological and cultural articulation or display of power.

[7] See *Codex Manesse: Die Miniaturen der Großen Heidelberger Liederhandschrift*, ed. by Ingo F. Walther (Frankfurt: Insel, 1989). The miniatures may also be accessed on the website <http://manessebild.uni-hd.de/>.

1194 and 1197, created an account of Henry's royal praxis, his conquest and rule of Sicily, in Latin verse and picture sequence, is a grandiose representation of the official ideology of Henry's *dominium imperii*.[8]

The mid-fourteenth-century Manesse Codex itself combines lyric text and picture. It has a hierarchical structure, and its anthology of German lyric opens with the poetry of poet-kings. The Staufer Henry VI (*Keiser Heinrich*) and Conradin (*Künig Chuonrat der junge*) are followed by 'King Tyro of the Scots', who is in fact neither a real king nor a real poet, but merely the fictitious narrator of a courtesy-book. The third authentic poet-king is Wenceslas II of Bohemia (*Künig Wenzel von Behein*). Heinrich's portrait miniature (fol. 6^{r}, figure 1) inaugurates the whole codex. This is in key respects a thoroughly representative image: he is crowned and enthroned, in purple mantle, with the sword which defends Church and Christendom; he holds the lily-headed sceptre. Helmet and shield are emblazoned with the imperial eagle. The Emperor's ceremonial presence seems to authorize the codex, rather as the related image of enthroned majesty on royal and imperial seals authenticates formal documents. But it is also explicitly the image of a poet-king. The scroll or speech-band substitutes for the orb in Henry's left hand.[9] That too has a distinguished iconographical pedigree: the risen or ascending Christ holding scroll and cross-staff, Christ enthroned in majesty with the scroll or book of life. The fourteenth-century illuminator fashions an image expertly modelled on an iconography of royal representation, whose historical sources reach back to late classical and early medieval depictions of the *majestas Christi* and images of David as *rex et poeta*.[10]

The convergence of iconographical strands in the Manesse miniature is unusual, however, in that it amounts to a secularization of sacral imagery: here, the scroll is blank but is clearly intended to record the royal love-song which actually follows on the verso of this leaf. And the miniature remains unique within the codex. Conradin (fol. 7^{r}) is shown hunting, an activity with erotic significance in the metaphorical imagery of texts and pictures but with no specifically royal connotation. Wenceslas II (fol. 10^{r}, figure 2) is enthroned like Henry but not identified as a poet. He holds

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[8] Petrus de Eboli, *Liber ad honorem Augusti sive de rebus Siculis: Eine Bilderchronik der Stauferzeit aus der Burgerbibliothek Bern*, ed. by Theo Kölzer and Marlis Stähli (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994).

[9] Compare Michael Curschmann, 'Pictura laicorum litteratura? Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Bild und volkssprachlicher Schriftlichkeit im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter bis zum Codex Manesse', in *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter*, ed. by Hagen Keller and others (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1992), pp. 211–29.

[10] See *Codex Manesse*, ed. by Walther, p. 2; Helga Frühmorgen-Voss, 'Bildtypen in der Manessischen Liederhandschrift' and 'Ein Dokument habsburgischen Mäzenatentums?', in *Text und Illustration im Mittelalter: Aufsätze zu den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Literatur und bildender Kunst*, ed. by Norbert H. Ott (Munich: Beck, 1975), pp. 62–63 and 91–96; Hugo Steger, *David rex et propheta: König David als vorbildliche Verkörperung des Herrschers und Dichters im Mittelalter* (Nuremberg: Carl, 1961).

Figure 1. Manesse Codex, fol. 6[r].

Figure 2. Manesse Codex, fol. 10[r].

the sceptre in his right hand and with his left receives the gold goblet signifying his office as imperial cupbearer. A courtier proffers a gilded orb. His sword-bearer confers on Wenceslas's behalf a sword-belt on an armoured knight. Two minstrels pay tribute to the king as dispenser of courtly joy.[11]

Unique to the representation of Keiser Heinrich, then, is a remarkably free refunctioning of temporal ideological and christological images to create a dual image and composite persona of king and poet. What the miniature does share with many others in the codex is that it also illustrates, and in a precise sense 'authorizes', the text it accompanies.[12] Picture visually embodies the text, whose second strophe begins with a statement of royal dominion: 'Kingdoms and lands are subject to me', only to undercut its own assertion of power: 'when I am with my beloved'.[13] 'Power and might' vanish once the lovers are parted, the king rises and falls with Fortune's wheel. For her he would abdicate his crown (strophe 3,7), without her he would be banished and outlawed (strophe 4). This subordination of royal power, made conditional on the power of love, subverts the visual image too, so that it authenticates the poetic fiction in an ironic way. Keiser Heinrich's right hand, while it holds the sceptre, also points to the scroll, which itself usurps the place of the orb of *dominium mundi*, and which gives the lie to the miniature's representation of majesty. Within the gestural vocabulary of the Manesse Codex (and medieval manuscript illumination more generally), the hand pointing to the scroll tells the reader to associate image with text. In the case of Heinrich von Veldeke (fol. 30^{r}, Codex Manesse, p. 33) the lover's sad introspection is contrasted, in both the miniature and the first of his lyrics, with the joy of fluttering birds. With his left hand, Keiser Heinrich points simultaneously to the scroll and to his own body. With a similar gesture, Ulrich von Gutenburg (fol. 73^{r}, Codex Manesse, p. 65) identifies himself with the falcon which has just returned to the lure, in his first song in the anthology a metaphor for the lover who submits to the discipline of courtliness.

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[11] Compare Horst Wenzel, 'Repräsentation und schöner Schein am Hof und in der höfischen Literatur', in *Höfische Repräsentation: Das Zeremoniell und die Zeichen*, ed. by Hedda Ragotzky and Horst Wenzel (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990), pp. 171–208 (pp. 191–94); Walther (*Codex Manesse*, p. 8) corrects misreadings of the iconography of the miniature, for example by Frühmorgen-Voss, 'Bildtypen in der Manessischen Liederhandschrift', p. 63, and still purveyed by Wolfgang Hartung, *Die Spielleute: Fahrende Sänger des Mittelalters* (Düsseldorf: Artemis and Winkler, 2003), p. 190.

[12] On the broader context of iconographical 'authorization' of texts, see Ursula Peters, 'Autorenbilder in volkssprachigen Handschriften des Mittelalters: Eine Problemskizze', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 119 (2000), 321–68, and Christel Meier, 'Ecce auctor: Beiträge zur Ikonographie literarischer Urheberschaft im Mittelalter', *FMST*, 34 (2000), 338–92.

[13] *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, 36th edn, ed. by Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervooren (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977), *MF* 5,16–6,4 = MT IX, III, pp. 71–72. [Hereafter cited as *MF* = *Minnesangs Frühling* with the page and line number references from Karl Lachmann's 1857 edition; and MT = Moser and Tervooren's edition with author, text, and page references]. For text and translation, see appendix of lyrics, no. 1.

Love makes a man a king. The topos is familiar already to poets contemporary with Henry VI at the Hohenstaufen court:

> Mir ist daz herze wunt
> und siech gewesen nû vil lange,
> (daz ist reht, wan ez ist tump)
> sît ez eine vrowen êrst bekande.
> Der keiser ist in allen landen,
> kuste er sî ze einer stunt
> an ir vil rôten munt,
> er jaehe, ez waere im wol ergangen.[14]

Friedrich von Hausen could well have performed this song with Henry in his audience. Heinrich von Veldeke plays parodistically with the contentions and rhymes of Keiser Heinrich's song:

> Si ist sô guot und ist sô schône,
> die ich nu lange hân gelobet,
> solt ich ze Rôme tragen die krône,
> ich saste ez ûf ir houbet.
> Maniger spraeche: sehent, er tobet!
> got gebe, daz sî mir lone.
> wan ich taete, ich weiz wol wie,
> lebt si noch, als ich si lie.
> sô ist si dort, und ich bin hie.[15]

In another strophe, Veldeke picks out Solomon from the medieval catalogue of great men humbled by love:

> Diu minne betwanc Salomône,
> der was der alrewîseste man,
> der ie getruoc küniges krône.
> wie mohte ich mich erwern dan,
> Si twunge ouch mich gewalteclîche,
> sît si sölhen man verwan,
> der sô wîse was und ouch sô rîche?
> den solt sol ich von ir ze lône hân.[16]

But Solomon was also a figure of ideological significance in imperial political imagery and iconography; his image appears on the imperial crown Henry presumably wore at

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[14] *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, *MF* 49,13–36 = MT X, X, p. 86. See appendix of lyrics, no. 2.

[15] *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, *MF* 63,28–36 = MT XI, XVI, p. 128. See appendix of lyrics, no. 3. Compare Frank Willaert, 'Heinrich von Veldeke und der frühe Minnesang', in *Mittelalterliche Lyrik*, ed. by Cramer and Kasten, pp. 33–56.

[16] *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, *MF* 66,16–23 = MT XI, XXVI, p. 138. See appendix of lyrics, no. 4.

his coronation in 1191. Albrecht von Johansdorf's variation on the theme spells out the essential point, that love makes a king of the lover who can otherwise never be one:

> Diu saelde hât gekroenet mich
> gegen der vil süezen minne.
> des muoz ich iemer êren dich,
> vil werde küneginne.
> Swenne ich die vil schoenen hân,
> sône mac mir niemer missegân.
> sî ist aller güete ein gimme.[17]

As Heinrich von Morungen puts it:

> Ich pin cheiser âne chrône
> und âne lant: daz meine ich an dem muot.[18]

Keiser Heinrich plays ironically with the conventional point: when love makes him a king 'in imagination', in the fiction of love lyric, she renders him unfit to be king in reality, by the grace of any other dispensation. Along with his crown, he abdicates wisdom and submits himself to the ceaseless *wehsel* of Fortuna's wheel, the fluctuation of a lover's power and powerlessness.

Whether the fourteenth-century attribution of the song to Henry VI is reliable, we cannot know. It is likely to be an old connection, since Henry was not a magnetic historical personality, a Barbarossa or *stupor mundi*, who attracted trappings of legend. This song has formal characteristics, dactylic or triplet rhythm and *canzone* structure, which place it in a brief phase in the later 1180s when there was an avid reception and imitation of the themes, forms, and melodies of Romance lyric at the imperial court, thanks initially to the role of Henry's mother, the Empress Beatrice, as patron of Occitan and Old French poets.[19] The troubador Guiot de Provins attended the Whitsuntide Curia of 1184. Contact with Provençal culture at court and in imperial northern Italy led to the cultivation of Romance-based love-poetry in the years between the Mainz court festival and the Third Crusade. Leading exponents are men who also crop up in charters and chronicles in military, diplomatic, and legal roles: Ulrich von Gutenburg, Bligger von Steinach, Bernger von Horheim, and

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[17] *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, *MF* 92,35–93,4 = MT XIV, XI, p. 191. See appendix of lyrics, no. 5.

[18] *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, *MF* 142,19 = MT XIX, XXVIII, p. 273. Quoted in the version of Manuscript M (Codex Buranus), MT, p. 274. See appendix of lyrics, no. 6.

[19] 'This is perhaps the first example attested in German of a polystrophic *canso* in the Romance manner': Olive Sayce, *The Medieval German Lyric 1150–1300* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), p. 100. The 'emperor-topos' may derive from a song of Peirol (2, 21): 'Qu'ieu no vuoill reis esser ni emperaire / Que non agues en lieis mon pessamen. / Non sui pro ricz sol qu'ieu l'am finamen?' (For I do not wish to be king or emperor, had I not set my thoughts on her. Am I not supremely rich and mighty, simply in loving her truly?).

above all Friedrich von Hausen, who was active from 1175 until his death on crusade in 1190 in the service of the imperial chancellor Archbishop Christian of Mainz, of Barbarossa, and of Henry VI himself.[20] These were educated and valued courtiers whose poetry shows a high degree of self-awareness and cultural ambition. The young King Henry is lavishly praised by contemporaries for his learning and eloquence: 'I rejoice to see before me a philosopher king who does not need to beg knowledge of matters of state from anyone else,' says his tutor, the sycophantic Geoffrey of Viterbo.[21] The reception at the imperial court of Heinrich von Veldeke's Romance of Eneas is one indication that the central significance of the *translatio imperii* in Frederick I's military and political project also had its cultural dimension in the promotion and exploitation of vernacular literature.[22] The Mainz Curia in 1184, which celebrated the knighting of Henry and his younger brother Frederick, marks a salient moment when the emergent idea of a chivalric ethos and culture receives royal sanction and identification. If Henry VI did indeed compose courtly love-song, it is because chivalry and its literature were being acknowledged as elements of royal identity and its representation.

Yet Keiser Heinrich's love-song transgresses the norms of representation on more than one level. It presupposes a fully consummated erotic relationship and thus sets itself apart from contemporary lyrics we can associate with the imperial court and from those of the wider range of Minnesänger composing in the later 1180s and 1190s. While this version of courtly love may be consistent with the authorial identity of a young king, who cannot plausibly cast himself in the role of subservient unrequited lover, appropriate in the case of ministerials or even free noblemen, it risks putting at jeopardy the ethical and socializing value of love and love-song. Whereas the lover's acceptance of frustration and suffering in love, most fully articulated in the lyrics of Friedrich von Hausen, may serve as a model for the courtier's elevation of social function and duty above individual inclination and sexual freedom, Keiser Heinrich appears to assert a right to such freedom. His songs are located in a sphere of feeling and erotic behaviour which, if in a twelfth-century context it cannot yet be called 'private', we may characterize as 'non-public' or 'intimate'.[23] This happens here not in an 'objective' genre such as pastourelle or dawn-song, but in the first-

[20] See Sayce, *Medieval German Lyric*, pp. 114–32.

[21] 'Gaudeo me regem habere philosophantem, cuius maiestatem non oporteat in causis rei publice scientiam ab aliis mendicare': *Speculum regum*, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS, 22, (Hannover: Hahn, 1872), p. 21. See also Maria E. Dorninger, *Gottfried von Viterbo: ein Autor in der Umgebung der frühen Staufer*, Stuttgarter Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 345 (Stuttgart: Heinz, 1999).

[22] See Ashcroft, 'Renovatio Amoris', pp. 61–62 and 78–82.

[23] Compare Wenzel, 'Repräsentation', pp. 174 (n. 6) and 185–91, and Dieter Kartschoke, 'Ich-Darstellung in der volkssprachigen Literatur', in *Entdeckung des Ich: Die Geschichte der Individualisierung vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Richard van Dülmen (Cologne: Böhlau, 2001), pp. 61–78.

person monologic lyric which invites the audience to associate author-performer with lyric persona. The royal poet reveals, in the public medium of love-song, behaviour which does not conform to courtly norms and is not publicly expressible because it transgresses sanctioned modes of conduct in 'public love'.[24] Still more problematical is that Keiser Heinrich invokes the representative image and identity of kingship, from which he then dissociates himself in asserting the higher power of erotically fulfilled love. For the king's body is not his own, freely to bestow in love. To merit his power to rule others, he must demonstrate his power over himself, not cede it to passion. The Italian commentator on German courtly society, whom we know as Thomasin von Zerclaere, states that traditional point:

> vil rehte der künec rihten sol,
> so ist beriht sîn lant wol.
> rihtet er niht wol in sînem lant,
> sîn lantliut tuont unrehte zehant.
> laet er sich an die trâkeit,
> sîn lantliut schiuhent arbeit.
> Daz selbe umbe die sêle ist:
> ist si traege deheine vrist
> und daz si nicht berihtet wol
> ir lîp, als si in rihten sol,
> sô tuot der lîp von ir schulde
> dicke wider gotes hulde.[25]

Thus Keiser Heinrich's song threatens the exemplary function and value of courtly literary art, and the status of a poet-king renders that threat still more damaging.

In these respects, Keiser Heinrich takes to an extreme pitch a distinctive feature of lyrics written at the Hohenstaufen court in the later 1180s: the way poets deliberately encourage their audience to associate the first-person lyric voice of their songs, which for the first time in the vernacular explore a self-consciously novel introspective subjectivity, with the poet-performer they see and hear singing the song. This at least partial identification of author with the lyric persona of a new and innovative literary genre may be understood as a strategy for authenticating this German *dolce stil nuovo* by metonymically extending the courtly chivalric authority of the known poet to the lyric self, to whose sensitized masculinity contemporary knighthood might otherwise be sceptically resistant. Thus Friedrich von Hausen relates the role of Aeneas and the lyric theme of parting and loving from afar to his own departures from 'somewhere in the Rhineland' and his absences on imperial missions across

[24] The term derives from Baldassar Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano* ('amor publico'). See Wenzel, 'Repräsentation', p. 188.

[25] *Der Wälsche Gast*, ed. by Friedrich Wilhelm von Kries, 4 vols, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1984), lines 9597–9608. See appendix of lyrics, no. 7.

'the Alps', in Italy.[26] Bernger von Horheim identifies service of the emperor in Apulia as the specific cause of lovers' parting and complains:

> Der mir ze Pülle die hervart gebôt,
> der wil mich scheiden von liebe in die nôt,
> des ich gewinne vil michel riuwen.
> [. . .]
> Nû muoz ich varn und doch bî ir belîben,
> von der ich niemer gescheiden mac.
> si sol mir sîn vor allen anderen wîben
> in mînem herzen beidiu naht unde tac.
> Als ich gedenke, wie ich ir wîlent pflac,
> owê, daz Pülle sô verre ie gelac!
> daz wil mich leider von fröiden vertrîben.[27]

In Hartwig von Rute's version, the knight revokes his service of the emperor and puts love before military obligation:

> Ich sihe wol, daz dem keiser und den wîben
> mit ein ander niemen gedienen mac.
> des wil ich in mit saelden lân belîben,
> er hât mich ze in versûmet manigen tac.[28]

Keiser Heinrich's song fits into this pattern of the *argumentum ab auctore*, the quasi-autobiographical creation of metonymic lyric identities which offer the recipients of a new and culturally challenging literature a means to relate to its unfamiliar paradigms, in particular its rewriting of the chivalric identity. Poets, whose military and social credentials are impeccable, identify themselves with lyric personae, who through the experience of an interiorized love are defining a new sphere of personal and individual sensibility, which conflicts with and may even be given priority over public obligation. Minnesang stakes out a free space in which new cultural identities can be tried out, vicariously realized, and offered to the court audience for its emulation. The potential conflict of public concerns and individual aspiration is at its most acute when poet and lyric persona share the unique and ultimately significant identity of king. Beyond the poetological humour of playing with a topos, Keiser Heinrich's song reflects some serious issues of the phase during which the Hohenstaufen court is assimilating the enhanced conception of chivalry and the courtly poetry which articulates that conception. If, as happens paradigmatically at the Mainz curia of Whitsun 1184, the imperial family is endorsing the enhanced ethos of chivalry

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[26] *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, *MF* 42,1–43,27 = MT X, I, pp. 73–75, and MF 45,1–36 = MT X, IV, pp. 78–79. For the texts cited here, see appendix of lyrics, nos 8–9.

[27] *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, *MF* 114,21–115,2 = MT XVI, IV, pp. 227–28. See appendix of lyrics, no. 10.

[28] *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, *MF* 116,1–25, MT XVII, I, pp. 230–31. See appendix of lyrics, no. 11.

and the emergent social and literary expressions of *curialitas*, what possibilities arise, and what limitations obtain, when the young king and future emperor experiments in dilettante love-song, as ministerials and nobles in his entourage are doing?

One may doubt whether, as literary historians have speculated, Henry had his song performed to the assembled princes of the empire at Mainz,[29] let alone sent it as a courtship token to the bride he first met at their betrothal ceremony, and who at that stage at least knew not a word of German. Within the fiction of Minnesang, Keiser Heinrich might assert the right of a king to an inner life of sensibility and free erotic feeling, and he might seize a modish opportunity, in itself officially sanctioned at his father's court, to test that right in symbolic conflict against his public identity and destiny, but that royal destiny was ineluctable. Henry, crowned king when less than four years old, was betrothed in October 1185 at the age of barely nineteen to the thirty-year-old Constanza of Hauteville, heiress to the crown of Sicily, and was married to her in January 1186 in Milan, in a ceremony which was simultaneously a coronation at which Barbarossa conferred on his son the title *caesar*.[30] Whatever we may read out of, or into, the lyric dissociation of Keiser Heinrich's public and intimate selves, the royal wedding firmly reintegrated these, symbolically and in publicly representative reality. Parting and separation were to be themes of their marriage, too. Historians remark on the paucity of reference to Constanza in contemporary records; for long periods her whereabouts are untraceable, and in contrast to the apparently warm relationship of Barbarossa and Beatrice, or of Philip and Irene/Maria, their marriage plays no part in their public representation. Gislebert of Mons suggests that the Empress could not understand German without an interpreter. Henry appears to have made little effort to free Constanza from her captivity in 1191–92, and they were separated for almost a year in 1194–95, during which Frederick II was born. He remained their only child. There were suspicions that Constanza was implicated in the conspiracy and revolt against Henry in 1197. Although the intimate realities of medieval dynastic marriage are impenetrable to an extent that modern 'royals' might envy, it is clear that the ideal which Heinrich von Veldeke set before the Hohenstaufen court, in his Romance of Aeneas, of an Italian conquest which ends in a marital symbiosis of royal chivalry and reciprocated love, was not replicated in the kingdom of Sicily. If Constanza made Henry a king, it was only in the literal sense, that she brought him an additional crown, and one Henry must often have felt more resembled a crown of thorns.

The contentions of Keiser Heinrich's erotic fiction were not merely refuted by political reality (which after all comes as no great surprise). Between 1194 and 1197, Peter of Eboli, 'servus imperatoris et fidelis', created in his *Liber ad honorem Augusti*

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[29] Karl Bertau, *Deutsche Literatur im europäischen Mittelalter*, 2 vols (Munich: Beck, 1972), I, 581.

[30] See Heinz Wolter, 'Die Verlobung Heinrihs VI. Mit Konstanze von Sizilien im Jahre 1184', *HJB*, 105 (1985), 30–51. For the following, see Peter Csendes, *Heinrich VI* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993), especially pp. 134–35 and 210–11.

an account of Henry's kingship in Sicily, whose images of the *dominium imperii* constitute 'apart from the Bayeux Tapestry the only preserved medieval picture sequence which depicts contemporary events'.[31] The closing sequence of these pictures allegedly reproduces frescoes painted on the walls of the royal palace in Palermo. These assert, with the hyperbole characteristic of Hohenstaufen propaganda, an iconography of kingship which, coincidentally, so to speak repairs its subversion in Keiser Heinrich's song and in his image in the Manesse Codex. The page which depicts the successive stages of Henry's imperial coronation (fol. 105^{r}) is accompanied and interpreted by Peter of Eboli's text, which claims that the sword conferred on the emperor is the one wielded by St Peter in the Garden of Gethsemane, and makes Henry 'templi defensor et orbis, / Hinc regit ecclesiam, corrigit inde solum'. The sceptre symbolizes piety and justice: 'Iura potestatis, pondus pietatis et equi, / Signat in Augusta tradita virga manu' (fol. 104^{v}). A later page (fol. 143^{r}) reminds us that it was Frederick Barbarossa who first conferred on Henry his dignity as caesar. Frederick crowns Henry and confers the sceptre on him. Yet a further conferral ceremony (fol. 146^{r}, figure 3) shows Henry receiving the symbols of power from the seven natural and theological virtues. According to the accompanying text, 'the virtues vie and compete to bring him their gifts, / fullness of grace grows in my emperor, / whom Wisdom gently nursed in her lap' (fol. 143^{v}).[32] To the right, Fortitudo presents the lance, Justitia her book; the untitled Temperantia proffers the mitre; Prudentia appears empty-handed. To the left, Fides holds the sword, supported by Spes and Caritas. Below, Fortuna turns her wheel. She appeals to the Virtues to enlist her in their sisterhood, but they repulse her. The figure crushed by the wheel is labelled by a later hand as Tancred, who usurped the throne of his Aunt Constanza in 1190. The manuscript depicts him as a gnome, 'facie senex, statura puellus'. Allegedly the aborted offspring of a mésalliance, he is 'nature's buffoon, a thing, an ape, deformed'.[33] The Emperor, on the contrary, 'as victor steers the heavenly course according to [his] will, / everywhere your right hand creates for itself a new Fortune. / You direct the reins of Fortune wherever you will.'[34] A final image of the enthroned

[31] Petrus de Eboli, *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, ed. by Kölzer and Stähli, p. 9.

[32] 'Certant virtutes, certatim munera prebent, / Crescit in Augusto gratia plena meo, / Infra quem gremium Sapientia dulce recepit': Petrus de Eboli, *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, ed. by Kölzer and Stähli, p. 237.

[33] 'Ridiculum, natura, tuum: res, simia, turpis, / Regnat, abortivi corporis instar homo': Petrus de Eboli, *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, ed. by Kölzer and Stähli, p. 69.

[34] 'Qui Regis ad placitum victor in axe rotas, / Fortunam tua dextra novam sibi condit ubique, / Ducis fortune quo tibi frena placet' (fol. 145^{v}: *Libellus ad Augustum inscribitur*): Petrus de Eboli, *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, ed. by Kölzer and Stähli, p. 217. Compare Geoffrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Friderici I. et Heinrici VI imperatorum metrice scripta*, ed. by G. Waitz, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 30 (Hannover: Hahn, 1870): 'Cesar erat omnia, cuncta disponebat, / Celum, terra, mare, pluto iam timebat; / Fortuna volubilis gradum suum vertebat; / Humiliat, sublimate, quos rota ferebat' (lines 153–56). See Herwig Wolfram, 'Fortuna in mittelalterlichen Stammesgeschichten', *MIÖG*, 72 (1964), 1–33.

Figure 3. *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, fol. 146[r].

emperor (fol. 147^{r}, figure 4) merges allegory and political reality. 'Now Henry will sit on the throne where Solomon wielded universal power' (fol. 146^{v}).[35] On Solomon's lion throne, with its six diamond and six golden steps, Henry reigns under the protection of Sapientia. She 'reviles' and wards off Fortuna, beneath whose wheel Tancred joins more renowned victims: Andronicus, Icarus, and the Giants. Around the Emperor are grouped his three most powerful courtiers. Conrad of Querfurt, imperial chancellor, holds a *mappa mundi* and a book which represents the *Liber ad honorem Augusti* itself, which he presumably commissioned from Peter of Eboli. To the left of the throne stands the imperial ministerialis Markward von Annweiler, steward and admiral of the Sicilian fleet. The steps of the throne are guarded by Heinrich von Kalden, marshall and imperial general. The text commentary offers an allegorical reading: 'To [the emperor's] left, Neptune shall tame the sea, to his right Jupiter govern all land; at his left ear, Mercury shall play the lute, the all-seeing Apollo shall speak to his right ear; Mars shall sit with drawn sword before the throne, striking fear in the world and subjecting to imperial rule the stars, the fates, and the gods.'[36]

Constanza is absent from these apotheoses of Henry VI, though she plays her full part in the earlier narrative of the reconquest of Sicily. The representation of Hohenstaufen power on this hypertrophic scale is unprecedented and will not be matched until well into the reign of Frederick II. The precision with which it seems to annul and correct, or hypercorrect, the themes and images of Keiser Heinrich's love-song, and its fourteenth-century iconography, is striking. Sapientia, not Frau Minne, rules the emperor. He rules Fortuna and determines his own destiny. Neither love nor even dynastic marriage impinges on the body politic. Two widely separated genres of courtly fiction, Minnesang and panegyrical historiography, go about their divergent business, one ironically dissociative, the other ruthlessly integrative. Both offer refractive, indeed refractory, representations of Henry's kingship. However, Minnesang itself proved capable of providing its own corrective to Keiser Heinrich's song, at least analogous to its refutation in the *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, that is, the revocation of courtly love in crusading songs prompted by the Curia Jesu Christi at Mainz in 1188, when Frederick Barbarossa and his princes, counts, and ministerials took the cross. The ostentatious celebration of a burgeoning secular culture at the Mainz Curia of 1184 had stimulated the flowering of love-song among courtier-poets, of which Keiser Heinrich's song is so salient an example. Under the impact of the Curia Christi, Friedrich von Hausen's songs of crusade enact symbolically the abjuring of courtly joy in the *conversio* of the crusader knight:

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[35] 'Nam meus Henricus materna sede sedebit, / In qua rex Salomon sedit in orbe potens': Petrus de Eboli, *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, ed. by Kölzer and Stähli, p. 241.

[36] 'A leva Neptunus aquas castiget, et omne / Iuppiter a dextris corrigat ipse solum. / A leva citharam moveat Mercurius aure, / Omnividens dextra Phebus in aure legat. / Mars pre sede sedens gladiatus territet orbem, / Cogat ad imperium sidera, fata, deos': Petrus de Eboli, *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, ed. by Kölzer and Stähli, p. 241.

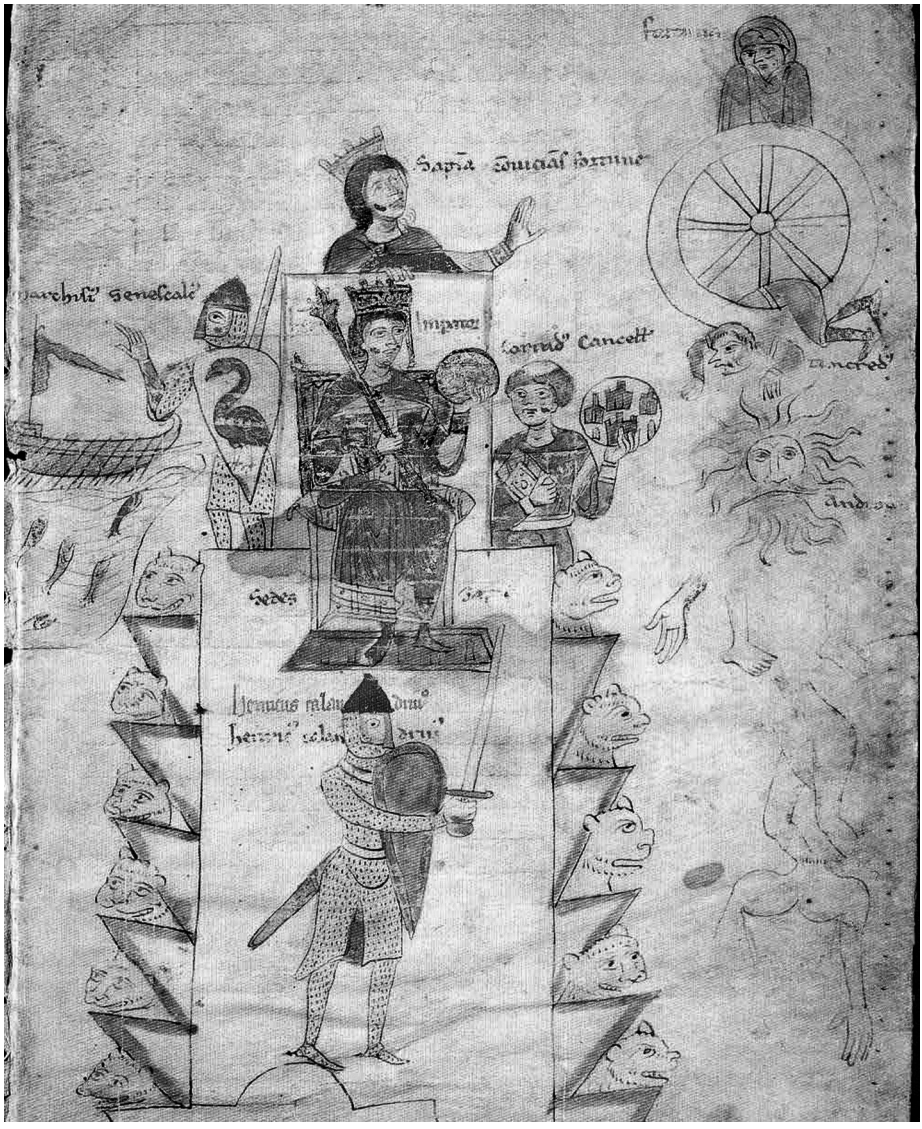

Figure 4. *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, fol. 147^{r}.

ich hete liep, daz mir vil nâhe gie,
daz verlie mich nie,
von wîsheit kêrte ich minen muot;
daz was diu minne, diu noch manigen tuot
die selben klage.
nu wil ich mich an got gehaben,
der kan den liuten helfen ûz der nôt.
nieman weiz, wie nâhe im ist der tôt.[37]

The revocation is not always so radical and abrupt. Albrecht von Johansdorf can contemplate a merely temporary reprieve from love's unwisdom and concocts a gradualist theology of crusade:

vüere ich dich danne mit mir in gotes lant,
sô sî er der guoten dort umb halben lôn gemant.[38]

But after the stark news of Barbarossa's death Heinrich von Rugge allows no such compromise:

Vil maneger nâch der werlte strebet,
deme sî doch boesez ende gebet,
und nieman weiz, wie lange er lebet:
daz ist ein michel nôt.
Ich rate iu, dar ich selbe wil:
nu nement daz crûce und varent dâhin,
daz wirt iu ein vil grôze gewin,
unde vürhtent niht den tôt.[39]

Neither Peter of Eboli nor the Third Crusade put an end to Hohenstaufen royal love-song. Two more kings have lyrics to their name. Indeed Frederick II is a royal patron, initiating and authorizing Italian poetry in a more significant way than Henry VI for Minnesang. Dante praises Frederick as a model for noble patrons of literature and acknowledges the Sicilian 'vulgare illustre, cardinale, aulicum et curiale' as the very prototype of an Italian literary language. Fra Salimbene claims for Frederick that 'he knew how to read, write and sing, and how to compose songs and odes' ('legere, scribere et cantare sciebat et cantilenas et cantiones invenire').[40] Which, if any, of the

[37] *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, *MF* 46,19–28 = MT X, V, p. 80. See appendix of lyrics, no. 12.

[38] *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, *MF* 94,25–34 = MT XIV, XIII, p. 194. See appendix of lyrics, no. 13.

[39] *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, *MF* 99,13–20 = MT XV, 'Der Leich', VIIIb, p. 200. See appendix of lyrics, no. 14.

[40] See Rudolf Baehr, 'Die sizilianische Dichterschule und Friedrich II', in *Probleme um Friedrich II.*, ed. by Josef Fleckenstein (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1974), pp. 93–107. Wolfgang Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, 2 vols (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994–2000), II (2000), 361–74, gives a comprehensive account of Frederick's poetry and patronage. See also Eberhard Horst, *Friedrich der Staufer: Eine Biographie* (Düsseldorf: Claassen,

six songs attributed to him in the manuscript transmission may actually be his work is much disputed.[41] Three lyrics may serve to characterize the putative royal contribution to the Sicilian School and its problematics.[42] 'De la mia disïanza', which the sole manuscript attributes to 'j[m]peradore federigo', imitates Provençal lyric tradition in its form and imagery. 'Dolze meo drudo', attributed to 're federigo' in the only manuscript, but now seen as of dubious authenticity, is a much more interesting dialogue of two parting lovers. The woman commends the knight to God; he pleads that he must obey him who has power over him. The simple conclusion has been drawn that this disqualifies Frederick as author, since he is under no one's command. Unless, of course, it were God's. These features of the song, even his assurance that he leaves his heart with the beloved, have parallels in Romance and German crusading lyric. The reference to Tuscany ('biasmomi de la Toscana, / che mi diparte lo core', II, 7–8) gives no basis for contextualizing the song in the biography of a king who more than most in the Middle Ages '[moved] from one transit camp to another, in a ceaselessly itinerant life'.[43] The third example, 'Donna, lo fino amor', is transmitted anonymously, but Joachim Schulze has argued that it should be attributed to Frederick because it uses the emperor topos in such a way that it can only be sung by or in the persona of a real king.[44] That makes it unique in the Italian lyric and suggests, Schulze claims, that Frederick possessed a copy of the song of his father, Henry VI. The lover does not compare himself to a king, a topos in the Sicilian lyric too, but insists like Keiser Heinrich that love and '1'amorosa mia natura' are what truly crowns him king. 'Magnificato' (strophe I,9) echoes *magnificentia imperialis*, a term of central significance in the language of Frederick's chancery. 'This is an imperial expression which not every singer could simply import into a song, especially not the poetizing notaries and judges of the Magna Curia, who must have known better than others whose language it belonged to.'[45] The second stanza is quite sharply reminiscent of its counterpart in Keiser Heinrich's lyric:

1989), pp. 200–03, and the dismissive discussion of Frederick's and Henry's poetry in David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London: Allen Lane, 1988), pp. 270–79.

[41] See H. H. Thornton, 'The Authorship of the Poems ascribed to Frederick II, "Rex Fredericus", and King Enzio', *Speculum*, 2 (1929), 463–89, and Bruno Panvini, *Le Rime della scuola siciliana*, 2 vols (Florence: Olschki, 1962), I, xliii–xlix.

[42] Panvini, *Le Rime*, XIII, 1 ('De la mia disïanza'), pp. 157–59, XLIII, 11 ('Dolze meo drudo'), pp. 423–24, and XLIV, 16 ('Donna, lo fino amore'), pp. 497–99. See also Panvini, *Poeti italiani della corte di Federico II* (Naples: Liguori, 1994).

[43] Abulafia, *Frederick II*, p. 253.

[44] Joachim Schulze, 'Hat Friedrich II. die Lieder seines Vaters Heinrich VI. gekannt?', *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, 68 (1987), 376–86.

[45] 'Das ist kaiserliche Ausdrucksweise, die nicht jeder beliebige Sänger in ein Lied übernehmen konnte, vor allem keiner von den dichtenden Notaren und Richtern der Magna Curia, die besser als andere gewußt haben dürften, wessen Sprache das war': Schulze, 'Hat Friedrich II.', p. 381.

Eo porto alta corona,
poi ch'eo vi son servente
a cui m'asembra alto regnar servire;
si alta gioi mi dona
a voi stare ubidente.
Pregone voi chel degnate gradire.
E vero certamente credo dire,
chè 'nfra le donne voi siete sovrana,
d'ogni grazia e di vertù compita,
per cui morir d'amor mi saria vita.[46]

'Donna, lo fino amore' suggests that, like Henry VI, Frederick II endorsed and promoted vernacular lyric as a cultural expression of royal power and was willing to appear himself as a representative of courtly refinement and sensibility, that, aware of a dynastic tradition, he inscribed himself into the practice of love-song and the artistic representation of his royal power.

The last Hohenstaufen poet was the last of the Staufer kings, Corradino or Conradin, King of Jerusalem.[47] Two short songs appear under the name 'Künig Chuonrat der Junge' in the Manesse Codex.[48] The second of them very traditionally contrasts Maytime and winter, lover's joy and pain of parting. Its pathetic ending —

ichn weiz niht, frou, waz minne sint.
mich lât diu liebe entgelten vil
daz ich der jâre bin ein kint

— has struck readers uncannily like a premonition of his tragic death. After he lost the battle of Tagliacozzo to Charles of Anjou, he was beheaded in the winter of 1268 at the age of 16.

The literary historian Ewald Jammers constructed the hypothesis that Conradin, who grew up in Swabia, the heartland of Minnesang, commissioned in the 1260s a lost lyric anthology which was the archetype of the Manesse Codex, and which contained songs from the golden age inaugurated at Mainz in 1184 through to the poetry of Hohenstaufen ministerials at the court of Henry (VII).[49] This *Urhandschrift* was conceived as a royal collection of courtly lyric and had on its inaugural page the prototype of the extant portrayal of Henry VI. This is, if unproveable, a by no means implausible attempt to reconstruct the lost antecedents out of which the opulent

[46] See appendix of lyrics, no. 17.

[47] See Günther Schweikle, 'König Konrad der Junge', in *Verfasserlexikon der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 2nd edn, ed. by Kurt Ruh (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978–), V, 210–13.

[48] *Deutsche Liederdichter des 13. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Carl von Kraus, 2nd edn, rev. by Gisela Kornrumpf, 2 vols (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1978), I, 230–31. See appendix of texts, no. 18.

[49] Ewald Jammers, *Das Königliche Liederbuch des deutschen Minnesangs. Eine Einführung in die sogenannte Manessische Handschrift* (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1965).

codex, fit for any king, was created in urban aristocratic and patrician circles in fourteenth-century Zurich. Adventurous though Jammers's hypothesis is, that twelfth- and thirteenth-century Minnesang was in some measure a kind of Hohenstaufen genre, it is nonetheless eminently arguable that in key phases of medieval vernacular lyric, both in Germany and in Sicily, the self-ironical representation of royal power and royal powerlessness in the languages of Hohenstaufen lyric affords glimpses into the mentality of medieval kingship which are significantly different from the perspectives of historiographers and propagandists, and their iconographies.

Appendix

Texts and Translations

1. Kaiser Heinrich (*MF* 5,16–6,4)

Ich grüeze mit gesange die süezen
die ich vermîden niht wil noch enmac,
daz ich sie von munde rehte mohte grüezen,
ach leides, des ist manic tac.
Swer nu disiu liet singe vor ir,
der ich sô gar unsenfteclîch enbir,
ez sî wîp oder man, der habe si gegrüezet von mir.

Mir sint diu rîche und diu lant undertân,
swenne ich bî der minneclîchen bin;
unde swenne ich gescheide von dan,
sô ist al mîn gewalt und mîn rîchtuom dahin;
Wan senden kumber, den zel ich mir danne ze habe.
sus kan ich an vröiden stîgen ûf und ouch abe
und bringe den wehsel, als ich waene, durch ir liebe ze grabe.

Sît daz ich sî sô gar herzeclîchen minne
und si âne wenken zallen zîten trage
beide in herzen und ouch in sinne,
underwîlent mit vil maniger klage,
Waz gît mir dar umbe diu liebe ze lône?
dâ biutet si mirz sô rehte schône,
ê ich mich ir verzige, ich verzige mich ê der krône.

Er sündet, swer des niht geloubet,
daz ich möhte geleben manigen lieben tac,
ob joch niemer krône kaeme ûf mîn houbet.
des ich mich ân si niht vermezzen mac.
Verlür ich sî, waz het ich danne?
dâ tohte ich ze vreuden weder wîben noch manne,
und waer mîn bester trôst beide ze âhte und ze banne.

(With my song I greet the sweet one I can never willingly give up. Alas, it is many a day since I was last able to greet her. Whoever, man or woman, sings this song to her, whom I miss so painfully, shall have greeted her in my name.

Kingdoms and lands are subject to me — when I am with my beloved; but when I leave her, all my power and might vanishes. All I possess is desire and travail. With my joy I rise and fall, and her love shall inflict this fluctuation of fortune on me until I die.

Since I love her with all my heart and carry her every moment unchangingly in heart and mind, beset constantly by lamenting, what reward does my love give me? She offers me such a true one, sooner than renounce her, I would renounce my crown.

It would be a sin not to believe that I could live a happy life even if my head never wore a crown. Without her I could not boast that. If I lost her, what would be left to me? I would bring no joy to woman or man, and what comforts me best would be outlawed and banished.)

2. Friedrich von Hausen (*MF* 49,13)

Mir ist daz herze wunt
und siech gewesen nû vil lange,
(daz ist reht, wan ez ist tump)
sît ez eine vrowen êrst bekande.
Der keiser ist in allen landen,
kuste er sî ze einer stunt
an ir vil rôten munt,
er jaehe, ez waere im wol ergangen.

(My wounded heart has long been sick (and deserves it for its folly), ever since it first set eyes on that lady. He who is emperor of all lands, were he to kiss her just once on her full red lips, he would admit it had given him pleasure.)

3. Heinrich von Veldeke (*MF* 63,28)

Si ist sô guot und ist sô schône,
die ich nu lange hân gelobet.
solt ich ze Rôme tragen die krône,
ich saste ez ûf ir houbet.
Maniger spraeche: sehent, er tobet!
got gebe, daz sî mir lône!
wan ich taete, ich weiz wol wie,
lebt si noch, als ich si lie.
sô ist si dort, und ich bin hie.

(She whom I have praised so long is so good and is so fair, if I wore the crown of Rome, I'd set it on her head. Many a man will say 'He's mad!' God grant that she rewards me, for then I'd — I don't know what I'd do. If she's still where I left her, then she's there, and I'm here.)

4. Heinrich von Veldeke (*MF* 66,16)

Diu minne betwanc Salomône,
der was der alrewîseste man,
der ie getruoc küniges krône.
wie mohte ich mich erwern dan,
Si twunge ouch mich gewalteclîche,
sît si sölhen man verwan,
der sô wîse was und ouch sô rîche?
den solt sol ich von ir ze lône hân.

(Love laid its spell on Solomon, the wisest man ever to wear a king's crown. How could I defend myself and stop her overpowering me, when she defeated such a man who was so wise and so mighty. She owes me love's wages as my reward.)

5. Albrecht von Johansdorf (*MF* 92,35)

Diu saelde hât gekroenet mich
gegen der vil süezen minne.
des muoz ich iemer êren dich,
vil werde küneginne.
Swenne ich die vil schoenen hân,
sône mac mir niemer missegân.
sî ist aller güete ein gimme.

(Fortune has crowned me with this sweet love. For that I must pay you honour for ever, most noble queen. So long as her loveliness is mine, no ill can befall me. Of all that's good she is the jewel.)

6. Heinrich von Morungen (Carmina Burana 150a)

Ich pin cheiser âne chrône
und âne lant: daz meine ich an dem muot —
ern gestuont mir nie sô schône.
wol ir liebe, diu mir sanfte tuot!
Daz machet mir ein vrowe guot.
ich wil ir dienen iemer mêr, ich engesach nie wîp sô wol gemuot.

(I am an emperor without a crown and without a kingdom — I mean in my imagination, which has never served me better. Her love be blessed which makes me so happy. A kind woman does this for me and I shall serve her ever more. I never beheld so gracious a lady.)

7. Thomasin von Zerclaere (*Der wälsche gast*, ed. by von Kries, 9597–9608)

vil rehte der künec rihten sol,
so ist beriht sîn lant wol.
rihtet er niht wol in sînem lant,
sîn lantliut tuont unrehte zehant.
laet er sich an die trâkeit,
sîn lantliut schiuhent arbeit.
Daz selbe umbe die sêle ist:
ist si traege deheine vrist
und daz si nicht berihtet wol
ir lîp, als si in rihten sol,
sô tuot der lîp von ir schulde
dicke wider gotes hulde.

(The king shall rule justly so that his land is well ruled. If he does not rule well in his land, his people will quickly fall into wrongdoing. If he succumbs to sloth, his people

will be work-shy. The same applies to the soul. If it is ever slothful and does not rule the body well as it should rule it, then the soul is responsible when the body offends against God.)

8. Friedrich von Hausen (*MF* 42,1)

Ich muoz von schulden sîn unvrô,
sît sî jach, dô ich bî ir was,
ich mohte heizen Enêas
und solte aber des wol sicher sîn,
si wurde niemer mîn Tidô.
wie sprach sie dô?
aleine vrömidet mich ir lîp,
si hât iedoch des herzen mich
beroubet gar vür alliu wîp.

(I have every reason to be unhappy, since she told me, when I was last with her, that I might call myself Aeneas but should be quite sure that she would never be my Dido. How could she say that? It is she who shuns me and yet has robbed me of my heart, she alone of all other women.)

9. Friedrich von Hausen (*MF* 45,10)

Ich wânde ir ê vil verre sîn,
dâ ich nû vil nâhe waere.
alrêrste hât daz herze mîn
von der vrömde grôze swaere.
Ez tuot wol sîn triuwe schîn.
waer ich iender umb den Rîn,
sô vriesche ich lîhte ein ander maere,
des ich doch lîhte nie vernam,
sît daz ich über die berge kam.

(I imagined before that I was far away from her where now I would seem very close. Only now for the first time does my heart suffer because of the distance between us. That shows its loyalty. Were I somewhere in the Rhineland, I would likely hear different tidings, such as I have never heard since I crossed the Alps.)

10. Bernger von Horheim (*MF* 114,21 and 114,35)

Wie solte ich armer der swaere getrûwen,
daz mir ze leide der künic waere tôt?
des muoz ich von ir das ellende bûwen,
des werdent dâ nâch miniu ougen vil rôt.
Der mir ze Pülle die hervart gebôt,
der wil mich scheiden von liebe in die nôt,
des ich gewinne vil michel riuwen.
[. . .]

Nû muoz ich varn und doch bî ir belîben,
von der ich niemer gescheiden mac.
si sol mir sîn vor allen anderen wîben
in mînem herzen beidiu naht unde tac.
Als ich gedenke, wie ich ir wîlent pflac,
owê, daz Pülle sô verre ie gelac!
daz wil mich leider von fröiden vertrîben.

(How could I, poor man, believe the sad news that to my grief the king [William II of Sicily and Apulia?] is dead? For it will exile me far away from her, and my eyes shall be sore from weeping. He who ordered me to march on Apulia tears me from joy into peril, to my great distress. [. . .] Now I must march away and yet stay with her from whom I can never be parted. She shall be in my heart night day excluding all other women. When I think how I served her till now, alas that Apulia lies so far off. That will drive my joy from me.)

11. Hartwig von Rute (*MF* 116,15 and 116,22)

Swie mir tôt vast ûf dem ruggen waere
unde dar zuo manic ungemach,
sô wart mîn wille nie, daz ich sî verbaere.
swie nâhen ich den tôt bî mir sach,
Dâ manic man der sünden sîn verjach,
dô was daz mîn aller meistiu swaere,
daz mir genâde nie von ir geschach.

Ich sihe wol, daz dem keiser und den wîben
mit ein ander niemen gedienen mac.
des wil ich in mit saelden lân belîben,
er hât mich ze in versûmet manigen tac.

(However hard death pressed on my heels and much unpleasantness else, it was never my will to renounce her. However near to death I seemed, when many men were confessing their sins, my greatest burden was that she had never bestowed her grace on me.

I see clearly now that no man can serve the emperor and women. And so I shall leave him with his own good fortune. He has delayed me many a day on my way back to them.)

12. Friedrich von Hausen (*MF* 46,19)

Mit grôzen sorgen hât mîn lîp
gerungen alle sîne zît.
ich hete liep, daz mir vil nâhe gie,
daz verlie mich nie,
von wîsheit kêrte ich mînen muot;
daz was diu minne, diu noch manigem tuot
diu selben klage.
nu wil ich mich an got gehaben,

der kan den liuten helfen ûz der nôt.
nieman weiz, wie nâhe im ist der tôt.

(All my days I have wrestled with great concerns. I had a love which touched me deeply and which never left me. I turned my mind away from wisdom. This was that love which makes many complain in similar fashion. Now I will cleave to God who can help people out of danger. No man knows how close he is to death.)

13. Albrecht von Johansdorf (*MF* 94,25)

Minne, lâ mich vrî!
du solt mich eine wîle sunder liebe lân.
du hâst mir gar den sin benomen.
kumst du wider bî,
swenne ich die reinen gotes vart volendet hân,
sô wis mir aber willekomen.
Wilt aber dû ûz mînem herzen scheiden niht,
daz vil lîhte unwendic doch beschiht,
vüere ich dich danne mit mir in gotes lant.
sô sî er der guoten dort umb halben lôn gemant.

(Love, let me free! For a while you should leave me joyless. You have quite robbed me of sense. If you come back once I have accomplished my journey as God's knight, be welcome once more. But if you will not depart from my heart, which is most likely your inalterable resolve, I shall take you with me to God's land and beg Him there to give half the crusader's reward to my lady.)

14. Heinrich von Rugge (*MF* 99,13–20)

Vil maneger nâch der werlte strebet,
deme sî doch boesez ende gebet,
und nieman weiz, wie lange er lebet:
daz ist ein michel nôt.
Ich rate iu, dar ich selbe wil:
nu nement daz crûce und varent dâhin,
daz wirt iu ein vil grôze gewin,
unde vürhtent niht den tôt.

(Very many strive after this world which gives them a miserable end, and no man knows how long he may live. That is a great peril. I counsel you to go where I myself am going: now take the cross and set out on your crusade. Great profit will be yours and fear not death.)

15. 'Imperadore Federigo' (Panvini, *Le Rime*, XIII.1,1 and XIII.1,5)

De la mia disïanza
c'o penato ad advire,
mi fa sbaldire, — poi ch'i' n'o ragione,
ché m'a data fermanza

com'io possa compire
lu meu placire — senza ogne cagione
a la stagione — ch'io l'averò 'n possanza.
Senza fallanza — voglio la persone,
per cui cagione — faccio mo' membranza
[. . .]
Diviso m'a lo core
e lo corpo à 'n balia;
tienmi e mi ha — forte incatenato.
La fiore d'ogne fiore
prego, per cortesia,
che più non sia — lo suo detto fallato;
né disturbato — per inizadore,
né suo valore — non sia menovato,
né rabbassato — per altro amadore.

(From my desire, which I find hard to conquer, I take courage, for which I have no reason, now that she gives me assurance how I might carry my pleasures to unqualified conclusion at such time as I have her in my power. Without fail I want the woman whose favour I have dreamt for. [. . .] She has divided my heart and my body under her sway, she holds and keeps me closely fettered. Flower of all flowers, I beg her by her courtesy to redeem her promise fully, lest she be impeded by slanderers, lest her worth be diminished, lest she be abased by some other lover.)

16. 'Re Federigo' (Panvini, *Le Rime*, XLIII.11)

'Dolze meo drudo, eh! vatène?
Meo sire, a Deo t'acomanno,
chè ti diparti da mene,
ed io tapina rimanno.
Lassa! la vita m'è noia,
dolze la morte a vedire,
ch'io non pensai mai guerire
membrando me fuor di gioia.

Membrandome che ten vai,
lo cor mi mena gran guerra;
di ciò che più disiai
mi tolle lontana terra.
Or se ne va lo mio amore,
ch'io sovra gli altri l'amava;
biasmomi de la Toscana,
che mi diparte lo core.'

'Dolce mia donna, lo gire
non è per mia volontate,
chè mi convene ubidire
quelli che m'à 'n potestate:

or ti conforta s'io vaio
e già non ti dismagare,
ca per null'altra d'amare,
amor, te non falseraio.

Lo vostro amore mi tene
ed àmi in sua segnoria,
ca lealmente m'avene
d'amar voi sanza falsia.
Di me vi sia rimembranza,
no mi agiate 'n obria,
c'avete in vostra balia
tutta la mia disianza.

Dolze mia donna, commiato
domando sanza tenore;
che vi sia racomandato
che con voi riman mio core;
cotal' è la namoranza
degli amorosi piaciri
che non mi posso partiri
da voi, donna in leanza.'

('My sweet love, ah! Are you leaving? My lord, to God I commend you who departs from me while I remain sorrowing. Alas I tire of life and death is sweet to behold, for I do not expect to recover, considering how hard it was to be without joy. When I consider that you are going, my heart makes war on me; the one I most desire a distant land now takes from me. Now my love goes away whom I loved above all others. Blame it on Tuscany, which splits my heart in two.' 'My sweet lady, my going is by no will of my own. It is right that I obey him who has me in his power. Now be comforted as I go and do not fall into dismay, for no other woman shall cause me to fail you, my love. Your love holds me and keeps me in its dominion, for I have come to love you loyally without falsehood. Remember me, do not forget me, for in your power you hold all my desires. My sweet lady, I request your leave without delay. Keep well in mind that my heart remains here with you. Such is the loving feeling of amorous pleasures that I cannot tear myself from you, lady, in truth.')

17. Anonymous (Panvini, *Le Rime*, XLIV.16, 1–2)

Donna, lo fino amore
mà tuto si compreso,
che tutto son donato a voi amare;
non pò pensar lo core
altro c'amore acceso
e come meglio vi si possa dare.
E certo lo gioioso cominzare
isforza 1'amorosa mia natura,

ond'io mi credo assai magnificato
e 'nfra gli amanti in gran gioi coronato.

Eo porto alta corona,
poi ch'eo vi son servente
a cui m'asembra alto regnar servire;
si alta gioi mi dona
a voi stare ubidente.
Pregone voi chel degnate gradire.
E vero certamente credo dire,
chè 'nfra le donne voi siete sovrana,
d'ogni grazia e di vertù compita,
per cui morir d'amor mi saria vita.

(Lady, perfect love has so totally possessed me that I am wholly given up to loving you. My heart cannot think except as love inflames it, and how better to devote itself to you. In truth the joyous beginning spurs on my innate disposition for love, so that I believe myself highly exalted and amongst all lovers the one crowned in great joy. I wear a royal crown because I am subject to you, to serve whom seems to me equal to reigning on high. It gives me high joy to stand in obedience to you. Pray deign to receive this with favour. And truly I believe I can say for certain, that among women you are sovereign, the consummation of all grace and virtue, to die of love for whom would be life for me.)

18. 'Künig Chuonrat der Junge' (Kraus, *Liederdichter*, 32.2)

Ich fröi mich manger bluomen rôt
  die uns der meie bringen wil.
die stuonden ê in grôzer nôt:
  der winter tet in leides vil.
    der mei wils uns ergetzen wol
    mit mangem wünneclîchen tage:
    des ist diu welt gar fröiden vol.

Waz hilfet mich diu sumerzît
  und die vil liehten langen tage?
min trôst an einer frouwen lît
  von der ich grôzen kumber trage.
    wil si mir geben hôhen muot,
    dâ tuot si tugentlîchen an,
    und daz mîn fröide wirdet guot.

Swann ich mich von der lieben scheide,
  sô muoz mîn fröide ein ende hân.
owê, sô stirbe ich lîht von leide
  daz ich es ie mit ir began.
    ichn weiz niht, frou, waz minne sint.
    mich lât diu liebe engelten vil
    daz ich der jâre bin ein kint.

(I rejoice to see the host of red flowers which May brings us. Till now they were in great peril: winter did them much harm. May will compensate us with many a blissful day which fills the world with joy.

What help is summertide to me and these long radiant days? My solace rests with a lady who has burdened me with great sorrow. If she will raise my spirits in joy, she will do a virtuous deed such that my pleasure will be great.

When I part from my dearest, my joy must come to an end. Alas, I may die of regret for ever taking up with her. I know not, lady, what true love may be. This love makes me pay dearly for my being so young in years.)

Reasserting Power: Frederick II in Germany (1235–1236)

BJÖRN WEILER

In April 1235, Emperor Frederick II visited Germany for the first time in fifteen years. Over the next fifteen months he faced down the rebellion of his son Henry (VII); married his third wife, Isabella Plantagenet, the sister of King Henry III of England; and issued a series of decrees and charters, the most famous of which was the *Reichslandfrieden*, or imperial land peace, issued at Mainz in August. This visit showed the Emperor at the height of his power. As such, it has become one of the most widely commented upon episodes of his reign.[1] What has not yet been attempted, however, is an exploration of the symbolic content of the visit as a whole (in fact, so far the most comprehensive treatment of the symbolic element in Frederick's German sojourn extends to all of a paragraph),[2] and of the specific challenges facing Frederick as well as his responses to them. For the Emperor did not have it

[1] David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London: Allen Lane, 1988), pp. 239–40, 243–44, 248–49; Jürgen Petersohn, 'Kaisertum und Kultakt in der Stauferzeit', in *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, ed. by Jürgen Petersohn (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994), pp. 101–47 (p. 136); Wolfgang Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, 2 vols (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1994–2000), II, 313, 317, 321, 325; Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*, 2nd edn (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1980), pp. 372–83; Thomas Curtis van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen: Immutator Mundi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 377–88. Theo Broekmann's *Rigor Iustitiae: Herrschaft, Recht und Terror in normannisch-staufischen Süden (1050–1250)* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005) only appeared when this article was already in its proof stages. On pp. 260–367, Dr Broekmann deals with Henry (VII)'s uprising, and reaches similar conclusions, although approaching them from a somewhat different angle.

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[2] Petersohn, 'Kaisertum und Kultakt', p. 136.

entirely his own way: what had initially been planned as a triumphant tour of his imperial heartlands soon turned into a campaign to suppress and overcome the rebellion of his son Henry. By viewing his visit as a whole it will not only be possible to trace the subtle variations and modifications of the visit's symbolic content, which so far have largely been buried beneath a static narrative of imperial triumph, but we will also be able to answer more fundamental questions about the possibilities and the limitations of imperial self-representation in late Staufen Germany.

The following will pursue two interlinked strands of enquiry. The first will suggest that the threat of Henry's revolt was more serious than either Frederick's self-representation or the surviving narrative sources would suggest. The second will be concerned with outlining the complex relationship between the ceremonial and symbolic reassertion of imperial power which was to dominate Frederick's visit, and the danger Henry's rebellion had posed. For although the young King's uprising threatened to undermine Frederick's precarious hegemony in all parts of the empire, it also provided an opportunity to strengthen that hegemony. Somewhat paradoxically, the Emperor's more exalted claims were ultimately rooted in and to a degree dependant on the most formidable challenge mounted to these claims yet.

I

In July 1234, Frederick wrote to Archbishop Dietrich of Trier, announcing his intention to hold a diet at Frankfurt by late June 1235. The Emperor excused his long absence with the many difficulties he had faced in Sicily and Italy, as well as the affairs of the Holy Land. Yet, a recent meeting with Pope Gregory IX had settled their difficulties, and he was now ready to return. It was not, however, a desire to see the land of his fathers alone which made Frederick contemplate crossing the Alps: he announced that he was to be accompanied by a papal legate, who would preach the cross in Germany. In the meantime, he asked the Archbishop to oversee the maintenance of peace and public order, and to admonish Henry (VII) to fulfil his duties as king.[3]

This letter is the closest indication we have as to what Frederick had intended his visit to achieve, and thus merits a more careful reading. The reference to the Holy Land should be taken more seriously than modern scholars have tended to do.[4] Frederick's crusade of 1228/9 had returned Jerusalem to Christian control for the first

[3] *Acta imperii selecta: Urkunden Deutscher Könige und Kaiser mit einem Anhange von Reichssachen*, ed. by J. F. Böhmer (Innsbruck, 1870), no. 303.

[4] See, for instance, Rudolf Hiestand, 'Friedrich II. und der Kreuzzug', in *Friedrich II: Tagung des deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom im Gedenkjahr 1994*, ed. by Arnulf Esch and Norbert Kamp (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1996), pp. 128–49, but also Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, II, 167–68.

time since 1187. While this was by no means an unmitigated triumph,[5] it was nonetheless an achievement which the imperial chancery, at least, was keen to exploit for the remainder of Frederick's reign.[6] The modern reluctance to take seriously Frederick's commitment to the affairs of Christian *Outremer* can be explained, first, by the accusations levelled at the Emperor after his second excommunication in 1239, which centred on the damage he had done to the Holy Land by his alleged consorting with Muslims[7] and, second, by the fact that Frederick did not take the cross again, and that he never returned to Jerusalem. However, since Frederick, with his marriage to Isabella de Brienne in 1225, had become king-regent of Jerusalem first on his wife's and then on their son Conrad's behalf, he really had no need to take the cross and go on crusade again — Kings of Jerusalem rarely did. He was bound to show concern for the Holy Land as much by his duties as lord of Jerusalem, as by the fact that the precarious concord established with Gregory IX rested at least in part on their mutual concern for Christian *Outremer*.[8] Preparations for a new campaign had in fact started almost as soon as Frederick had been reconciled to Gregory IX, and were to reach a peak shortly after the Emperor announced his impending arrival in Germany.[9]

We should not forget that crusading preparations went beyond the recruiting of funds and troops, and included the pacification of one's realm and the eradication of

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[5] For the contemporary reaction to Frederick's campaign, see Andrea Sommerlechner, *Stupor Mundi? Kaiser Friedrich II. und die mittelalterliche Geschichtsschreibung* (Vienna: Őesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), pp. 241–319.

[6] Björn Weiler, 'The *Negotium Terrae Sanctae* in the Political Discourse of Latin Christendom, 1215–1311', *International History Review*, 25 (2003), 1–36; Weiler, *Henry III and the Staufen Empire,1216–1272*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2006), chapters 3–5.

[7] Peter Segl, 'Die Feindbilder in der politischen Propaganda Friedrichs II. und seiner Gegner', in *Feindbilder: Die Darstellung des Gegners in der politischen Publizistik des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Franz Bosbach (Cologne: Böhlau, 1992), pp. 41–71; James M. Powell, 'Frederick II and the Muslims: The Making of an Historiographical Tradition', in *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Robert I. Burns, S.J.*, ed. by L. J. Simon (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 261–69, provide a good overview.

[8] This has been elaborated in Björn Weiler, 'Gregory IX, Frederick II and the Liberation of the Holy Land, 1230–9', *Studies in Church History*, 36 (2000), 192–206.

[9] Gregory had called for a crusade in September 1234, and preparations were under way by November: *Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificium romanorum selectae*, ed. by Carl Rodenberg, MGH Saec. XIII, 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1888), nos 605–06; *Pontificia Hibernica: Medieval Papal Chancery Documents Concerning Ireland 640–1261*, 2 vols, ed. by Maureen Sheehy (Dublin: M. H. Gill, 1962–65), no. 214; *Les Registres de Gregoire IX*, ed. by Lucien Auvray, 4 vols (Paris: Thorin et fils, 1896–1955), nos 2204–09; the *Annales de Dunstaplia*, in *Annales Monastici*, ed. by H. R. Luard, 5 vols, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevii Scriptores (London: Longman, 1864–89), III, 142, refer to the beginning of crusade preaching in England s.a. 1235; *Chronica Majora: The Chronica Majora of Matthew Paris*, ed. by H. R. Luard, 7 vols, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevii Scriptores (London: Longman, 1872–74), III, 288.

unrest and rebellion: there was no point in going to the Holy Land if, during the ruler's absence, enemies attacked or if unrest and civil war erupted.[10] In the case of Frederick II, restoring peace and public order meant primarily dealing with the Lombard communes of northern Italy, and his visit may have been partly intended to secure the backing of the German princes for a Lombard campaign.[11] Pacifying the realm was not, however, a task limited to Italy alone: ever since his reconciliation with Gregory, Frederick had pursued a policy of expanding and reasserting imperial and royal rights, and across all of his lands, as evident, for instance, in his codification of Sicilian royal edicts in the *Liber Augustalis* of 1231,[12] or in his more interventionist approach to the affairs of imperial Burgundy.[13] By 1234, the time may have seemed ripe to reform the governance of his German realm as well, and there is some evidence to suggest that this was in fact what many of Frederick's German subjects had wished him to do.[14]

We should also note Frederick's request that the Archbishop encourage King Henry to perform his royal functions. Although it would be mistaken to view the visit as forced upon the Emperor by his son's revolt,[15] it is worth remembering that their relationship had been fraught for some time. Much of this conflict sprang from the Emperor's unwillingness to allow his son to exercise authority in deed as well as name. This reluctance, in turn, can be explained by the fact that, ultimately, Henry's kingship had been the price Frederick had to pay for being crowned emperor in 1220: Pope Honorius III had hoped to ensure a separation of the Staufens' imperial lands in the north of Italy and Frederick's Sicilian inheritance in the south.[16]

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[10] For a more detailed exposition, see Weiler, 'The *Negotium Terrae Sanctae*'; Rudolf Hiestand, 'Kingship and Crusade in Twelfth-Century Germany', in *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages*, ed. by Hannah Vollrath and Alfred Haverkamp (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 236–65.

[11] As suggested by Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, II, 313.

[12] *Die Konstitutionen Friedrichs II. für das Königreich Sizilien*, ed. by Wolfgang Stürner, MGH Constitutiones, 2 Supplementum (Hannover: Hahn, 1996); for an English translation, see *The Liber Augustalis or Constitutions of Melfi Promulgated by the Emperor Frederick II for the Kingdom of Sicily in 1231*, trans. by James M. Powell (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971).

[13] *Layettes du Tresor de Chartes*, ed. by Henri-Francois Laborde and Alexandre Teulet, 4 vols (Paris: H. Plon, 1863–1909), no. 2309; Jacques Chiffoleau, 'I ghibellini de regno di Arles', in *Federico II e le città Italian*, ed. by Pierre Toubert and Agostino Paravacini Bagliani (Palermo: Sellerio, 1994), pp. 364–88.

[14] Egon Boshof, 'Reich und Reichsfürsten in Herrschaftsverständnis und Politik Kaiser Friedrichs II. nach 1230', in *Heinrich Raspe – Landgraf von Thüringen und römischer König (1227–1247)*, ed. by Matthias Werner (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003), pp. 3–27 (pp. 10–11).

[15] As recently suggested by Boshof, 'Reich und Reichsfürsten', p. 10.

[16] Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, I, 223–27.

Frederick had repeatedly overturned or thwarted the initiatives of Henry's regents,[17] and matters did not improve after Henry had come of age in 1227. Initially, his father's crusade and excommunication had forced unity upon them, but once the Emperor had been reconciled to Gregory IX, he made it very clear that Henry only exercised power through his father's authority, and on his father's behalf: in 1231, Frederick had called on his son to participate in a diet at Ravenna, aimed to prepare for a campaign against the Lombard League, and which Henry refused to attend. They eventually met in spring 1232, when Henry (VII) was forced to accept a series of humiliating terms. If he violated them, the German princes were called upon to revoke their fealty and to appeal directly to the Emperor for support against his son.[18] Effectively, the King of the Romans had been demoted. He was no longer a ruler in his own right, but merely one of his father's officials. With his authority thus curtailed, and being unable to force his will upon the German princes, Henry's frustration finally erupted in the autumn of 1234[19] and resulted in him concluding an alliance with the Lombard League.[20] With that, he had reached the point of no return.

Henry was the most prominent but by no means the only victim of Frederick's reassertion of rights. During the summer of 1235, relations between the Emperor and his namesake, the Duke of Austria, also had begun to worsen. The exact circumstances of their falling out are difficult to ascertain but were at least in part connected to Duke Frederick's unwillingness to meet the Emperor outside Austria,[21] perhaps in

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[17] As perhaps best illustrated by their divergent attitudes towards King Waldemar of Denmark: Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, II, 118–22; P. Thorau, *König Heinrich (VII.), das Reich und die Territorien: Untersuchungen zur Phase der Minderjährigkeit und der 'Regentschaften' Erzbischof Engelberts I. von Köln und Herzog Ludwigs I. von Bayern (1211) 1220–38*, Jahrbücher der Deutschen Geschichte: Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich (VII.), 1 (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1998), pp. 202–27.

[18] *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum, 1198–1272*, ed. by Ludwig Weiland, MGH Constitutiones, 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1896), no. 170. [Hereafter *Constitutiones*.]

[19] *Annales Neresheimenses*, ed. by G. Waitz, MGH SS, 10 (Hannover, 1852), p. 23; *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, ed. by G. Waitz, MGH SS, 18 (Hannover, 1863), p. 470. For the background, see *Der Staufer Heinrich (VII.): Ein König im Schatten seines kaiserlichen Vaters*, ed. by Christian Hillen, Wolfgang Stürner, and Peter Thorau (Göppingen: Gesellschaft für staufische Geschichte, 2001); Christian Hillen, *Curia Regis: Untersuchungen zur Hofstruktur Heinrichs, (VII.) 1220–1235 nach den Zeugen seiner Urkunden* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999); Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, II, 275–86, 296–316.

[20] *Acta imperii inedita saeculi XIII et XIV: Urkunden und Briefe zur Geschichte des Kaiserreiches und des Königreichs Sizilien*, ed. by Eduard Winkelmann, 2 vols (Innsbruck, 1880–85), nos 470, 642; *Acta imperii selecta*, ed. by Böhmer, no. 334.

[21] Friedrich Hausmann, 'Kaiser Friedrich II. und Őesterreich', in *Probleme um Friedrich II.*, ed. by Josef Fleckenstein (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1974), pp. 225–308 (pp. 242–56); Heinz Dopsch, Karl Brunner, and Maximilian Weltin, *Österreichische Geschichte 1122–1278: Die Länder und das Reich. Der Ostalpenraum im Hochmittelalter* (Vienna: Carl Ueberreuter, 1999), pp. 189–94.

reflection of the so-called *Privilegium Minus*, supposedly granted by Frederick I Barbarossa to the first Duke of Austria in 1154, which had limited the circumstances under which the dukes might be expected to serve the emperor.[22] Like the King, Duke Frederick may ultimately have been driven to revolt by the very fact that the Emperor was seeking to implement in Germany the policies which he had already pursued in Sicily and Burgundy, and which did not stop short of revoking, setting aside, or amending his own and his predecessors grants.[23]

This, then, was the context within which Frederick's letter of July 1234 has to be placed. Initially, the visit had been aimed at recruiting volunteers for a new campaign to the Holy Land, but this could not be separated from the reassertion of imperial rights in Lombardy and the reform of the governmental structures of Germany. At the same time, this reclamation and expansion of imperial rights would force Frederick to abandon his initial plan and to deal with the rebellion of his son instead. One of the questions we will have to answer, therefore, is how Henry's revolt influenced the kind of imperial lordship Frederick was seeking to represent. After all, in the face of the King's revolt, and of his alliance with the Lombards, Frederick could no longer be content merely with celebrating his own exalted status. This was an uprising led not by disgruntled barons, but by Frederick's chosen heir and successor, and thus too great a challenge to be left unanswered.

II

Initially, Frederick treated his son's revolt with ostentatious disregard. There is little indication that he had mustered troops beyond those already in his entourage: in fact, when leaving the *regno* not long after Easter, he sent many of his Sicilian officials back before proceeding towards the Alps,[24] which he did not reach until April,[25] several months after news of the rebellion must have reached him.[26] His subsequent

[22] Since this document only survived in a series of later copies, it may have been a forgery, or if not, it had not received repeated confirmation. Heinrich Appelt, *Privilegium Minus: Das staufische Kaisertum und die Babenberger in Österreich*, 2nd rev. edn (Vienna: Böhlau, 1976).

[23] Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, II, 263–66.

[24] *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Notarii Chronica*, ed. by Carlo Alberto Carufi, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, Nova Series (Bologna: Niccola Zanichelli, 1936–38), p. 190.

[25] *Annales Erphordenses fratrum praedicatorum*, in *Monumenta Erphesfurtensia saeculi XII., XIII., XIV.*, ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 42 (Hannover: Hahn, 1899), p. 89.

[26] He had first announced his imminent arrival to the German princes in January 1235: *Regesta Imperii V: Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Philipp, Otto IV., Friedrich II., Heinrich (VII.), Conrad IV., Heinrich Raspe, Wilhelm und Richard, 1198-1272*, ed. by Johann Friedrich Böhmer, Eduard Winkelmann, and Julius Ficker, 3 vols (Innsbruck 1881–1901), no. 2075. [Hereafter *RI V*.]

progress could best be described as leisurely, and he did not enter Swabia, the heartland of Henry's rebellion, until late June.[27] Instead, he spent some time in Bavaria at Regensburg, where he was met by several princes, and where he took into his favour Duke Otto, who had been rumoured to be involved in the assassination of his father, Louis.[28] This was partly a celebration of the support for the Emperor (as evident by the number of princes in attendance), but also a demonstrative enactment of imperial lordship (Frederick settled an affair which it should have been the duty of his son, the King of the Romans, to address) and a public show of support for those who had previously suffered at the hands of King Henry (who, a few years before, had waged war on the Wittelsbach dukes).[29] The itinerary may also have been designed in imitation of Frederick's first visit to Germany: in January 1213 at Regensburg, he had held a first major assembly of those backing him against Otto IV.[30] Then, too, he had defended his claim to the German throne, and the due and proper exercise of the imperial office, against a usurper.[31] Moreover, while at Regensburg, the Emperor sought to reconcile two of his most powerful subjects: the King of Bohemia and the Duke of Austria.[32] Frederick created peace and did so in as public a setting and demonstrative a manner as possible. In the eyes of several observers, what was most noteworthy about Frederick's visit (apart from his defeat of Henry, and his marriage) was his desire to do justice, and his effectiveness in doing so.[33] There was thus a distinct edge to Frederick's keeping of the peace: he did what Henry had been unable or unwilling to do, and the King's inability to perform this most basic function only served to underline the fact that he might have held the title, but he had none of the qualities of a king.

A second point, too, was symbolically expressed at Regensburg: the role of the princes. When Frederick wrote to the Archbishop of Trier in January 1235,[34] his grievances centred on the disobedience the King had shown towards his father and

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[27] *Annales Marbacenses qui dicuntur (Cronica Hohenburgensis cum continuatio et additamentis Neoburgensibus)*, ed. by Hermann Bloch, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 9 (Hannover: Hahn, 1907), p. 96.

[28] *Annales Scheftlarienses Maiores*, ed. by G. Waitz, MGH SS, 17 (Hannover, 1861), p. 340.

[29] *Annales Scheftlarienses Maiores*, ed. by Waitz, p. 340. On the background, see Helmut Flachenecker, 'Herzog Ludwig der Kelheimer als Prokurator König Heinrichs (VII.)', *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte*, 59 (1996), 835–48.

[30] *RI V*, no. 699.

[31] See generally Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, I, 168–73.

[32] *Annales Erphordenses fratrum praedicatorum*, ed. by Holder-Egger, p. 89.

[33] *Continuatio Sancrucensis II*, ed. by G. Waitz, MGH SS, 9 (Hannover, 1851), p. 638; *Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgenses*, ed. by G. Waitz, MGH SS, 9, p. 786.

[34] *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, ed. by Alphonse Huillard-Breholles, 7 vols in 12 (Paris: Plon, 1852–61), IV (1858), 524.

his hostility towards the princes. In 1232, Frederick argued, Henry had sworn not only to abide by his father's wishes, but 'above all that he would show and treat our princes with particular respect (honour), and that he would generally do justice to all our faithful' ('precipue principes nostros specialia diligeret et prosequeretur honore, fidelibus nostris generaliter iusticiam observando'). Henry, however, had set aside the fear of God, the *timor Dei*, and the reverence he owed his father, and had taken hostages from the Emperor's faithful, seized castles, and sought to force Frederick's supporters to abjure their loyalty.[35] Henry (VII) thus violated the very principles on which imperial lordship was meant to rest. A ruler who oppressed and persecuted his nobles had forfeited his authority and their loyalty. To some extent, Frederick moved within a commonly accepted framework of rules that defined the relationship between rulers and ruled.[36] At the same time, the way he interpreted these principles in the light of his son's rebellion went beyond established precedent. With Henry (VII), the Emperor was in a position strong enough to force through a more radical interpretation of the mutual obligations springing from the role of the princes than he might otherwise have dared. Henry may have been a king, rather than a prince, but the principles which Henry was said to have violated applied in equal measure to the dukes, counts, and prelates of the empire.[37]

Henry — like the princes — had been given power to hold and exercise, but his authority and legitimacy ultimately depended on complying with the wishes of his father. Similar principles were to be invoked against Duke Frederick of Austria: not only had he violated the Emperor's honour (a point to which we will return), but when summoned to attend the diet at Mainz in August 1235, the Duke had failed to do so. Duke Frederick's contumacy consisted not so much in the fact that he stayed away from Mainz, but that he resisted a summons which had been made *communaliter et specialiter* to the German princes.[38] That is, he had failed to perform his

[35] *Constitutiones*, no. 193.

[36] See also Boshof, 'Reich und Reichsfürsten'; Boshof, 'Reichsfürstenstand und Reichsreform in der Politik Friedrichs II.', *Blätter für Deutsche Landesgeschichte*, 122 (1986), 41–66; Bernd Schneidmüller, 'Konsensuale Herrschaft: Ein Essai über Formen und Konzepte politischer Ordnung im Mittelalter', in *Reich, Regionen und Europa im Mittelalter: Festscrift Peter Moraw*, ed. by Paul-Joachim Heinig, Sigrid Jahns, Hans-Joachim Schmidt, Rainer Christoph Schwinges, and Sabine Wefers (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 2000), pp. 53–87.

[37] This applied not only to their relationship with the Emperor, but also to that with their own subjects. In 1231, for instance, a mandate by Henry (VII), which was later confirmed by Frederick, decreed that lords could not pass new laws in their domains 'nisi meliorum et maiorum terre consensus primitus habeatur', unless they had first secured the agreement of the better and greater men of the land: *Historia Diplomatica*, ed. by Huillard-Breholles, III, 461; *Constitutiones*, no. 305.

[38] *Constitutiones*, no. 201; *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Babenberger in Österreich. Vierter Band. Zweiter Halbband. Ergänzende Quellen 1195–1287*, ed. by Oskar Freiherr von Mitis, Heide Dienst, Christian Lackner, and Herta Hageneder (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 1997), no. 1198.

duties and obligations towards the Emperor. This parallel extended further: just as much as the Emperor moved against Henry and Frederick because they failed in their obligations due to him, they were also attacked because they failed in their duties towards their subjects. Duke Frederick, too, had oppressed his nobles, he had persecuted peasants, widows, and orphans, and it had been at their behest as much as at that of his knights and the princes that the Emperor had decided to take action.[39] Princes of the empire held great power, but if they were unable or unwilling to perform their duties, it was the emperor's responsibility and obligation to chastise them.

The diet of Regensburg was a highly symbolic act. It may have echoed Frederick's first appearance in Germany, nearly twenty years earlier, and would have placed Henry (VII) in line with Otto IV as someone who occupied the throne without the legal right or political ability to do so. Equally important, however, was its role as a public demonstration of Frederick's ability (and Henry's failure) fully to perform the rights and duties of an emperor; as a means of representing Frederick's concept of imperial lordship, in celebrating the fact that he acted in unison with the princes of the empire; and as a means of testing the loyalty of the German princes. It also indicated that the campaign against Henry (VII) was to be fought by political and symbolic, rather than military, means.[40] What mattered was to show Frederick's power, his wealth, support, and following, without actually using them. One means of demonstrating that power was the Emperor's leisurely progress. Another was the conspicuous display of wealth.

The anonymous continuator of Godfrey of Viterbo, writing at Ebersbach not long after 1235, elaborated on the pomp and exotic splendour of the Emperor's progress: the carriages adorned with satin and purple, gold, silver, and precious stones; the monkeys, leopards, camels, and dromedaries; and the 'Saracens and Ethiopians' protecting his treasure.[41] Most recently, Wolfgang Stürner has cast doubt on the accuracy of this image, pointing out that the Ebersbach author was the only one to mention these details.[42] Contemporary chroniclers did, however, record a number of comparable incidents. Matthew Paris, for instance, an English Benedictine, whose *Chronica Majora* covers events from *c*. 1235 to 1259, described in some detail the sojourn of Earl Richard of Cornwall, King Henry III's younger brother, at the imperial court in 1241 and mentioned the many Muslims in Frederick's entourage.[43] The chronicler's imagination was, however, truly caught by the reception the Earl

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[39] Ibid.

[40] Abulafia, *Frederick II*, pp. 243–44.

[41] *Gotfredi Viterbiensis Gesta Heinrici VI Continuatio Eberbacensis*, ed. by G. Waitz, MGH SS, 22 (Hannover, 1872), p. 348.

[42] Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, II, 304–05, n. 80. The *Chronica Regis Coloniensis*, by contrast, merely referred to the great number of Frederick's entourage and the many treasures he brought with him (*multa turba et multis thesauris*): p. 266.

[43] *Chronica Majora*, ed. by Luard, IV, 146.

received from the citizens of Cremona, who despatched the imperial elephant to greet the Earl.[44] That elephant may well have been the one which, in addition to two dromedaries, had been given to the Cremonese by Frederick's envoys in May 1235.[45] As far as the Emperor's Muslim troops are concerned, Matthew Paris reported that, after the wedding between Frederick and Isabella Plantagenet had been celebrated at Worms, the Empress was assigned a bodyguard of Muslim soldiers.[46] In this context it is worth remembering that the Sicilian Muslims played an important military role under the Norman kings, who maintained an elite force of palace Saracens, who continued to be employed as late as the Battle of Benevento in 1266.[47] All this does not necessarily prove that Frederick had brought Muslim troops or a menagerie of strange animals with him to Germany — Matthew, after all, did not write his account of Isabella's marriage until *c*. 1240 and may have been influenced by tales of the Emperor's Islamophilia which had begun to spread with his second excommunication of 1239,[48] and there is no evidence that Muslims were employed or exotic animals used as imperial gifts in Germany as well as Italy — but they certainly alert us to the fact that the Ebersbach account reflected common

[44] *Chronica Majora*, ed. by Luard, IV, 166–76. Matthew, also an accomplished draughtsman, produced one of his most famous sketches in the margins of the *Chronica* to illustrate this particular episode: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library MS 16, fol. 151^{v}. For a modern reproduction, see *The Illustrated Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Observations of Thirteenth-Century Life*, ed. and trans. with an introduction by Richard Vaughan (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1993), p. 58.

[45] *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, ed. by Waitz, p. 470. The use and display of rare and exotic animals was a common means of expressing status and prestige, and was by no means limited to Frederick II alone. Other examples include, for instance, the polar bear of Henry III of England, which he had received from the King of Norway: *Calendar of Liberate Rolls for the Reign of Henry III*, 6 vols (London: HMSO, 1916–64), *1251–4* (1919), p. 84; equally worth noting is *The Tale of Audun from the West Fjords (Auðunar þáttur vestfirska)*, trans. by Anthony Maxwell, in *The Sagas of Icelanders*, ed. by Robert Kellogg (London: Penguin, 1997), pp. 717–22; and, for the twelfth century, the story of Henry I's porcupine: William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998–99), I, 738–41. See also, for Germany, Karl Hauck, 'Tiergärten im Pfalzbereich', in *Deutsche Königspfalzen*, Veröffentlichungen des Max Planck Instituts für Geschichte, 11 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1963), pp. 30–74. I am grateful to Jack Bernhardt for this last reference.

[46] *Chronica Majora*, ed. by Luard, III, 325.

[47] Hubert Houben, 'Möglichkeiten und Grenzen religiöser Toleranz im normannisch-staufischen Süditalien', *DA*, 50 (1994), 159–98 (pp. 190–91); Alex Metcalfe, 'The Muslims of Sicily under Christian Rule', in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. by Metcalfe and G. A. Loud (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 289–317 (pp. 303–05).

[48] See also John Philip Lomax, 'Frederick II, his Saracens and the Papacy', in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, ed. by John Victor Tolan (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 175–98.

diplomatic and ceremonial practice at Frederick's court. As with similar cases across thirteenth-century Europe,[49] this was a demonstration of power based partly on a conspicuous display of wealth (hence the gold and silver, the precious stones, and the exotic animals) and partly on exemplifying the reach of a monarch's rule (hence the Muslims in Frederick's entourage).

Frederick's decision to use a ceremonial progress, rather than engaging his son in battle, proved effective: the Emperor's subjects flocked to him wherever he appeared, while those who had sided with his son, as one chronicler put it, took refuge in their castles and fortified places, leaving the King deserted and alone.[50] Henry's partisans, in the words of another, froze with fear when they beheld the Emperor's might and glory.[51] Already by June, when Frederick reached Nuremberg in Franconia, emissaries from Henry (VII) were said to have offered the King's submission.[52] There is some indication that matters may not have gone quite as smoothly as the Emperor's ultimate success suggests. For one, while Italian chroniclers comment on the small number of knights Frederick took with him, German sources emphasize his sizeable entourage. The two need not be mutually exclusive, and the Emperor's army may have increased as he progressed. After all, although meetings like that at Regensburg were certainly intended to offer a symbolic manifestation of imperial power, they also served as a means of recruiting troops,[53] and would have forced those through whose lands the Emperor passed to declare their loyalty, thus further swelling the ranks of his entourage. That more wide-ranging preparations were taken than the narrative sources indicate is suggested by the speed with which the Lombard envoys, who had been dispatched to Henry, were apprehended by the Emperor.[54] Considering that the initial agreement between the King and the communes had been concluded in November and December 1234,[55] they must have been dispatched to Germany shortly thereafter, that is, several months before Frederick crossed the Alps. This may imply that the Emperor's sojourn was preceded by a series of diplomatic

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[49] See, for instance, concerning Alfonso X of Castile in 1254, *Diplomatic Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office 1101–1272*, ed. by Pierre Chaplais (London: HMSO, 1964), no. 275.

[50] *Chronicon Ebersheimense*, ed. by G. Waitz, MGH SS, 23 (Hannover, 1874), p. 453.

[51] *Gotfredi Viterbiensis Gesta Heinrici VI Continuatio Eberbacensis*, ed. by Waitz, p. 348.

[52] *RI V*, no. 2098.

[53] No exact date for the Regensburg meeting survives, but when Frederick reached Nuremberg in June 1235, the witness list for a grant to the Abbot of Ebrach included, among others, the Dukes of Lorraine and Saxony, and as such may be indicative of the gradual swelling of the ranks of his companions: *RI V*, no. 2096.

[54] *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, ed. by Waitz, p. 470; *Magistri Tolosani Chronicon Faventium*, ed. by Guissepe Rossini, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, Nova Series (Bologna: Niccola Zanichelli, 1936–39), p. 135.

[55] *Acta imperii inedita*, ed. by Winkelmann, nos 470, 642.

and military preparations of which otherwise little record remains. Much rested on the ease and swiftness with which Frederick could overthrow the rebellion. An armed exchange, a prolonged siege or campaign, would have lent a degree of credibility to the revolt which Frederick could ill afford and would have encouraged those who also rejected Frederick's claims to take up arms. In order to be effective, the King's submission had to be complete, but it also had to be accomplished with ease.

Frederick took up the challenge posed by his son's uprising by denying its legitimacy. No reference was made to the reasons which the King himself had given for his actions,[56] and Frederick sought to avoid a clash of arms. Instead, he reiterated the principles on which he felt that the governance of the empire should rest, and thereby forced the German princes to choose sides. Once Henry's submission had been secured, the Emperor began to apply these principles to the German princes as a whole. At the same time, there is some indication that Frederick's position was less secure and Henry's support more widespread than either the Emperor's self-representation or the narrative sources would let us believe. After Henry (VII)'s submission and arrest several competing messages had thus to be conveyed. Most importantly, Frederick had to prove the illegitimacy of Henry's actions, but he also had to justify his own harsh response, and he had to place both within the wider context of the principles by which imperial rule was to be guided.

III

Defeating the King could only be a first step, and after Henry's submission in July 1235 the time had come to deal with his revolt politically and ceremonially. The reasons for the King's treatment — his captivity and exile, but also the particularly harsh terms of his imprisonment (Matthew Paris claims that he was kept in chains[57]) — had to be made public and they had to be explained and justified. Imperial authority had to be reasserted, but at the same time the revolt had to be incorporated into the ceremonial and ritual fabric of the Emperor's sojourn. I would like to explore the gradual nature of this *Aufarbeitung*, or reassessment, and the complex relationship between the reassertion of power and the ceremonial overcoming of the rebellion by focusing on three distinct stages of Frederick's sojourn: Henry's submission and the Emperor's wedding at Worms in July 1235; the imperial diet called to Mainz in August 1235; and Frederick's participation in the translation of the relics of St Elisabeth at Marburg in May 1236.

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[56] Which centred on Frederick's unwillingness to take his son's counsel and advice. *Constitutiones*, no. 322. This will be explored in greater detail in Björn Weiler, *Kingship, Revolt and the Culture of Politics in Thirteenth-Century Europe: England and Germany in Comparison* (London: Palgrave, forthcoming), chapter 4.

[57] *Chronica Majora*, ed. by Luard, III, 323.

In a way, these were very different occasions — a manifestation of dynastic continuity at Worms, of the relationship between princes and Emperor at Mainz, and of new forms of religious life at Marburg. Nonetheless, they had in common, first, that they were also occasions of imperial self-representation which highlighted various aspects of the imperial office (the Emperor acting as judge of evil men at Worms, as the source of justice and guardian of peace at Mainz, as a protector and patron of the Church at Marburg) and, second, that they combined this with a more and more assured handling of Henry's revolt. While at Worms the punishment of the King and his allies had unsurprisingly taken centre stage, by the time Frederick reached Marburg, little doubt remained about the extent of his victory, and this was reflected in the Emperor's self-representation. Equally intriguing, however, was the degree to which revolt and authority were interlinked. Even at the height of his standing in Germany, Frederick still felt the need to use his self-representation to respond to and invalidate the actions of his son.

Frederick's marriage concluded a series of symbolic acts aimed both at punishing Henry (VII) and his supporters and at visualizing the full restoration of imperial authority. Circumstantial evidence suggests that even the wedding's location had been chosen with this in mind: initially, Isabella had been escorted to Cologne, where she had spent the six weeks prior to her marriage.[58] Some of that delay had certainly been caused by the revolt, but that the ceremony took place at Worms may also have been designed as a reward for the citizens who had steadfastly opposed Henry and his ally Bishop Landulf of Worms.[59]

When Henry first offered submission to his father in person, rather than through envoys, he is said to have approached Frederick at Wimpfen.[60] His submission had been carefully planned, and Henry had tried to win powerful intercessors before approaching his father. The offer of submission was made not by Henry alone, but by him and one of the Emperor's most trusted allies, Hermann of Salza, the master of the Teutonic Knights.[61] However, when the King approached Frederick, the Emperor refused even to let him into his presence.[62] Instead, he ordered Henry to

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[58] *Chronica Majora*, ed. by Luard, III, 321–22.

[59] *Annales Wormatienses*, in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Worms*, ed. by Heinrich Boos, 3 vols (Berlin: Weidmann, 1886–93), II (1888), 146–47; *Chronicon Wormatiense saeculi XIII*, in ibid., II, 173–74.

[60] The exact details of Henry's submission remain unclear. See Hillen, *Curia Regis*, pp. 214–19; Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, II, 302–09; Gunther Wolf, 'Wimpfen, Worms und Heidelberg: Einige Bemerkungen zum Herrschaftsende König Heinrichs', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, n.s., 98 (1989), 471–86.

[61] Helmuth Kluger, *Hochmeister Hermann von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II: ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1987).

[62] *Annales Marbacenses*, ed. by Bloch, p. 97; *Chronicon Ebersheimense*, ed. by Waitz, p. 453; *Gesta Treverorum Continuatio IV*, ed. by G. Waitz, MGH SS, 24 (Hannover, 1879), p. 403.

come before the imperial court at Worms, where he was arrested and given into the custody of his erstwhile foe, the Duke of Bavaria.[63]

Frederick's refusal to forgive his son was expressed in several ways: Henry was ordered to surrender the imperial insignia, as a public token of his deposition and submission,[64] and when he sought to kiss the Emperor's feet, he was turned away.[65] Nor was Henry the only one whose pleas for forgiveness were spurned: when entering Worms on 4 July 1235, Frederick was received by the citizens and clergy and a number of bishops. However, when he saw Bishop Landulf among the assembled prelates, the Emperor refused to proceed and demanded that the Bishop leave. Landulf was eventually forced to flee Worms, and it was not until several years later that he was reconciled to the Emperor. Moreover, as with the young King, Frederick remained firm in his decision, even after the citizens of Worms had begun to plead on their prelate's behalf.[66] Henry's crime, and that of his allies, was too severe for common forms of ritual reconciliation to be effective. The Emperor vented his righteous anger, and he sought to humiliate Henry and his allies. Both Henry's and Landulf's overtures were, after all, spurned in as public a venue as possible, and before their assembled subjects and peers. This served a variety of purposes. It publicized Frederick's triumph and Henry's defeat, but it also undermined the political standing of the King's partisans: ultimately, an individual's authority depended not only on his material wealth, but also on his status and prestige. Those who were perceived as more likely to solicit grants on behalf of their followers, who were closer to those of higher rank and power, or who were treated with particular respect by their peers would find it easier to count on the loyalty and backing of their own dependants. We may even assume that Henry had been ordered to come to Worms specifically for the purpose of ensuring that his submission and deposition would be witnessed by as many as possible: news of the imminent wedding must already have secured a sizeable audience.[67]

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[63] *Annales erphordenses fratrum praedicatorum*, ed. by Holder-Egger, p. 89; *Annales Scheftlarienses Maiores*, ed. by Waitz, p. 340.

[64] The Cologne chronicle of kings also claimed that he had refused to return the castle of Trifels, where the imperial insignia were kept: *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, ed. by Georg Waitz, MGH SSrG sep. ed., 18 (Hannover: Hahn, 1880), p. 470. See also Volkhard Huth, 'Reichsinsignien und Herrschaftsentzug: Eine vergleichende Skizze zu Heinrich IV. und Heinrich (VII.) im Spiegel der Vorgänge von 1105/6 und 1235', *FMST*, 26 (1992), 287–330.

[65] *Chronicon Ebersheimense*, ed. by Waitz, p. 453.

[66] *Chronicon Wormatiense*, ed. by Boos, pp. 174–75.

[67] See also Bernd Thum, 'Öffentlichkeit und Kommunikation im Mittelalter: Zur Herstellung von Öffentlichkeit im Bezugsfeld elementarer Kommunikationsformen im 13. Jahrhundert', in *Höfische Repräsentation: Das Zeremoniell und die Zeichen*, ed. by Hedda Ragotzky and Horst Wenzel (Tübingen: Max Niermeyer, 1990), pp. 65–87.

Henry and the Bishop seem to have counted on this public setting, and they may have sought to use it in their favour. Henry's act of submission was one of such extraordinary self-abasement that, traditionally, he would have expected to be taken back into his father's favour.[68] Similarly, that Landulf joined the bishops in welcoming the Emperor to Worms may have been an attempt both to demonstrate his loyalty and to seek the protection of his fellow prelates. After all, although no record survives of the bishops' reaction, the citizens of Worms certainly pleaded on Landulf's behalf when witnessing his treatment by the Emperor.[69] That Frederick spurned their overtures only underlined the degree of his anger and the enormity of Landulf's crimes. At the same time, Frederick's wrath was not the only message the events at Worms were to convey. Just as important were the rewards meted out to those who had remained loyal. Worms, as we have seen, may have been chosen as a venue for the wedding in order to reward the citizens for their loyalty, while Duke Louis was entrusted with guarding the Emperor's son. As this occurred in an area which, only a few weeks earlier, had been firmly in Henry's hands, it only underlined the Duke's trustworthiness and status. As we will see, these twin elements of pursuing those who had rebelled and of rewarding those who had remained loyal continued to permeate the symbolic language of Frederick's sojourn.

At Worms, the subjugation of rebels formed part of a ceremonial enactment of imperial power, and when Frederick arrived, he was greeted by twelve bishops singing the *Gloria*.[70] About a fortnight later, the wedding itself took place amidst great celebration. Matthew Paris, probably drawing on eye-witness accounts from members of Isabella's entourage, focused on the four kings, eleven dukes, and thirty counts and margraves who participated in the wedding, not counting the prelates.[71] This was, however, only the final stage in a prolonged progress for the Emperor's new wife, who had reached Antwerp in early May. Roger of Wendover, writing up to 1235, elaborated on the splendour of her reception and travels: Isabella was

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[68] Gerd Althoff, 'Das Privileg der *Deditio*: Formen gütlicher Konfliktbeendigung in der mittelalterlichen Adelsgesellschaft', in his *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997), pp. 99–125; see, however, Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003), pp. 158–59, which uses this episode to argue for a hardening concept of imperial justice. Frederick's harshness was, however, rooted in the circumstances of his son's revolt, and this contextualization is here missing from Professor Althoff's argument.

[69] *Chronicon Wormatiense*, ed. by Boos, p. 174.

[70] *Chronicon Wormatiense*, ed. by Boos, p. 174. For its place within the liturgical acclamation of the ruler, see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship; with a Study of the Music of the laudes and Musical Transcriptions, by Manfred F. Bukofzer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), pp. 87–88.

[71] *Chronica Majora*, ed. by Luard, III, 324.

welcomed by a great multitude of knights, while the clergy of Antwerp and the surrounding regions had come to greet her, clothed in precious garments, carrying torches, singing hymns and joyful songs. From there, she proceeded to Cologne. When news of her imminent arrival reached the citizens, ten thousand came to greet her, bearing flowers and gifts, and entertained her with displays of horsemanship. Clergy, standing on ships which seemed to sail on dry land (being moved by horses hidden inside), sang songs and played music, and once the Empress reached Cologne, she was paraded through the main thoroughfares, before taking residence in one of the Archbishop's palaces, where she remained until the wedding.[72] This followed a two-pronged strategy. On the one hand, Frederick sought to overcome the challenge posed by his son ceremonially (by a display of splendour), but he also forced his subjects to show their loyalty. Matthew Paris suggests that Isabella's progress through Brabant and the Rhineland may not have been quite as smooth and peaceful, nor the display of loyalty as certain, as his and Roger's accounts would at first suggest. When describing Isabella's arrival at Antwerp, for instance, he points out that she was accompanied by many knights and soldiers because of rumours that enemies of the Emperor, allied with the King of France, planned to thwart the Emperor's wedding plans.[73] This may, of course, reflect anxieties at the English court rather than Frederick's — although it is worth noting that Henry (VII) had unsuccessfully tried to forge an alliance with the Capetians before turning to the Lombards — but it may also indicate the degree of support that Henry was able to muster, and which, due to his swift and bloodless overthrow, barely registered in the German sources.[74]

Events at Worms had been designed as a symbolic reappraisal of Henry's revolt. Frederick ensured that Henry's submission and surrender would be performed before as broad a public as possible, and he left little doubt as to the seriousness with which he treated the boy's actions and those of his followers. Neither family relationship (as with Henry) nor status (as with Bishop Landulf) could protect those who had risen in revolt. None of the traditional means of conflict resolution would be available — even Hermann of Salza's intervention had failed, and the citizens of Worms had pleaded in vain. Those who betrayed, rejected, or resisted imperial authority would face strict and inevitable punishment. Those who remained loyal, by contrast, like the Duke of Bavaria or the citizens of Worms, would be rewarded.

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[72] *Chronica Majora*, ed. by Luard, III, 321–22. Up to 1235 Matthew Paris largely copied the *Flores Historiarum* of Roger of Wendover, with changes and emendations of his own. These become more frequent in dealing with Isabella's marriage, and he starts writing his own version of events roughly from July 1235 onwards. Roger's and Matthew's versions are thus best read as a composite text. See also Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), pp. 21–34.

[73] *Chronica Majora*, ed. by Luard, III, 319.

[74] *Annales Marbacenses*, ed. by Bloch, p. 96. For the wider context, see Weiler, *Henry III*, chapter 2; see also Broekmann, *Rigor Iustitiae*, pp. 278–306.

In a way, this had been part of Frederick's self-representation ever since he crossed the Alps. All that happened at Worms was that the duality of Frederick's relationship with his subjects was formulated in more precise terms. While at Regensburg, for instance, the public display of support for the Emperor and the rewarding of followers had taken centre stage; now that Henry had been apprehended, the pernicious nature of rebellion and its consequences were given greater weight. At the same time, Frederick went beyond established precedent in the severity of the punishment he meted out. This is not to say that the Emperor had in the past looked leniently on those who resisted him. We only need to consider, for instance, the Emperor's treatment of the citizens of Messina who had rebelled against Frederick's justiciar in 1232.[75] When the Emperor entered the town the following year, he had several of the citizens hanged or burned at the stake,[76] while other rebel towns had their liberties revoked.[77] Henry and Landulf fared lightly by comparison. Nonetheless, by Northern European standards, the King's treatment was unusually harsh (compared, for instance, with that meted out to Henry the young King in England by his father, Henry II, in the 1170s,[78] or that of Richard of Cornwall by his brother, the King of England, in the 1220s[79]). Even in a German context, their punishment was remarkably severe. When Frederick had finally overcome Otto IV, for instance, he had gone to considerable lengths to safeguard the claims and properties of those who had remained loyal to his rival. There had been no forced exile, no deposition or dispossession, not even of those who had stayed with Otto after Frederick's coronation as King of the Romans in 1216.[80] Even Henry the Lion, when being deprived of his imperial fiefs in 1180, had been dealt with more leniently than Henry (VII) and his allies.[81] In 1235, this harshness had to some extent become necessary because of Henry's alliance with the Lombard League: his own son had treated with, and in a way encouraged, the Emperor's most persistent foes, and they, as well as others entertaining thoughts of resistance, had to be given a warning example. Had

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[75] *Ryccardi Chronica*, ed. by Carufi, p. 182; Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, II, 263–66; see also Andrea Romano, 'I rebelli nella legislazione e nella dottrina giuridica del *Regnum Siciliae*', in *Ordnung und Aufruhr im Mittelalter: Historische Studien zur Rebellion*, ed. by Marie Theres Fögen (Frankfurt/Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1995), pp. 139–61 (pp. 145–49).

[76] *Ryccardi Chronica*, ed. by Carufi, p. 185; *Chronia Regia Coloniensis*, ed. by Waitz, p. 264.

[77] *Ryccardi Chronica*, ed. by Carufi, p. 185.

[78] W. L. Warren, *Henry II*, 2nd edn (London: Methuen, 1991), pp. 582–90.

[79] N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1947), pp. 9–13.

[80] Roland Pauler, 'Dum esset catholicus – Zur Frage der Gültigkeit von Regierungserklärungen exkommunizierter oder abgesetzter Kaiser', *ZSRG (GA)*, 112 (1995), 345–65.

[81] Karl Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe: Eine Biographie* (Munich: Beck, 1979), pp. 204–12; Joachim Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe: Europäisches Fürstentum im Hochmittelalter* (Zurich: Muster-Schmidt Verlag Göttingen, 1997), pp. 104–12; Bernd Schneidmüller, *Die Welfen: Herrschaft und Erinnerung (819–1252)* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000), pp. 231–35.

Henry been merely a recalcitrant lord, Frederick could have left it there: Henry was defeated, and most of his supporters had either fled or had come to acknowledge the Emperor's authority. However, Henry's had been a challenge which went to the core of the Emperor's understanding of his office. The principles of imperial lordship had to be reasserted, and it was this aspect which was to take centre stage at Mainz in August 1235.

In Mainz, the basic tenets of imperial lordship were formulated most clearly in the privilege confirming Otto the Child's enfeoffment with the duchy of Brunswick and in the *Reichslandfrieden* issued during the diet. In the *arenga* and *narratio* of the privilege for Otto, Frederick expounded that he had been raised above kingdoms and kings by God and by God alone. His power was, however, to be used for the common benefit. Only by maintaining peace and justice would he be able to prove that he merited his position and augment the name and honour of the empire (*imperii nominis et honoris*). It was in this spirit that Frederick had received from Otto the towns of Brunswick and Lüneburg, as well as other lands, and then granted them back to him as imperial fiefs. The privilege placed this act within the wider context of Frederick's understanding of his role and of the relationship between ruler and ruled. Otto was enfeoffed during a diet called to deal with the reform of the realm; Frederick took Otto's lands into his own hands, as it was his duty to strengthen the empire; furthermore, the Emperor acted in unison with the princes, who shared in the governance of the realm, and Otto received his fief only after having shown his submission and given his promise of future loyalty to the Emperor.[82] Otto's elevation demonstrated the rewards awaiting those faithful to Frederick.[83] By submitting to the Emperor, Otto ensured that, for the first time since the fall of Henry the Lion, a member of his family was among the princes of the empire, that is, those who, alongside the emperor, shared in its governance. Moreover, it stressed yet again the collective nature of imperial rule: there was no legitimate authority unless it was exercised in close consultation with a ruler's noble subjects.

This line of reasoning was further elaborated in the *Reichslandfrieden*. In the *arenga*, Frederick expounded that he had been called to his lofty station by divine grace, and for a very specific purpose: to ensure that peace and justice prevailed. These themes permeated the document: after guaranteeing ecclesiastical liberties (clauses 1–2), it sought to regulate the conduct of feuds (3–6). Maintaining the peace also meant, however, restoring the material basis of imperial power, and clause 7, for

[82] *Constitutiones*, no. 197. For the background, see also Egon Boshof, 'Die Entstehung des Herzogtums Braunschweig-Lüneburg', in *Heinrich der Löwe*, ed. by Wolfgang Mohrmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1980), pp. 249–74.

[83] Otto had, after all, been implicated in plans to replace Frederick and Henry after the Emperor's 1227 excommunication. See Karl Augustin Frech, 'Ein Plan zur Absetzung Heinrichs (VII): die gescheiterte Legation Kardinal Ottos in Deutschland 1229–1231', in *Von Schwaben bis Jerusalem: Facetten staufischer Geschichte*, ed. by Sönke Lorenz and Ulrich Schmidt (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995), pp. 89–116; Weiler, *Henry III*, chapter 1.

instance, banned all tolls which had been erected since the death of Emperor Henry VI in 1196, while clause 11 declared illegal mints which had been established since that date. The reduction of tolls and duties formed part of an attempt to protect the right of way on royal roads, which even in the case of a legitimate feud, were not to be attacked (8–10).[84] The *Reichslandfrieden* culminated in the appointment of a justiciar and notary who would treat cases on the Emperor's behalf (28 and 29).[85] The document sought to strike a careful balance between reclaiming imperial rights on the one hand and maintaining the liberties of the princes on the other — clauses 13 and 26, for example, limited the role of towns as places of refuge for princely subjects — but it was also a forceful assertion of imperial power, and of an imperial power that entailed as its foremost duty to ensure that peace prevailed and that justice was done. To some extent, Frederick went further than most previous emperors had done. The revocation of imperial grants made since 1196, even his own and his son's, should thus be noted, as should the fact that this was the first attempt by an emperor to introduce, in the person of the imperial justiciar and his notary, a centralized and professionalized element into imperial administration.[86] The *Reichslandfrieden* of 1235 also extended the duties of maintaining the peace towards the princes: they had to ensure that the rules limiting the conduct of feud, for instance, were followed in their lands, and they shared in the Emperor's responsibility to enforce the peace across the empire. This promulgated a principle which had previously guided Frederick's actions: Henry (VII) had proven himself unworthy of being king because he was unable to do justice and because he was hostile to the princes, and a similar line of argument was soon to be used against Duke Frederick of Austria. By violating their duties, they prevented the Emperor from performing his. What was different at Mainz, however, was that this principle was now enshrined in a document which Frederick himself had heralded as an important step in reforming the governance of the realm, and which was to be confirmed and reissued another

[84] See also, for the importance of this theme throughout the Middle Ages, Timothy Reuter, 'Die Unsicherheit auf den Straßen im europäischen Früh- und Hochmittelalter: Täter, Opfer und ihre mittelalterlichen und modernen Betrachter', in *Träger und Instrumentarien des Friedens im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, ed. by Johannes Fried (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1996), pp. 169–202.

[85] *Constitutiones*, no. 196.

[86] Arno Buschmann, 'Landfriede und Verfassung: Zur Bedeutung des Mainzer Reichslandfriedens von 1235 als Verfassungsgesetz', in *Aus Österreichs Rechtsleben in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Festschrift Ernst C. Hellbling* (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1981), pp. 449–72; Erich Klingelhöfer, *Die Reichsgesetze von 1220, 1231/32 und 1235: ihr Werden und ihre Wirkung im deutschen Staat Friedrichs II* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1955). See, for instance, for the administration of royal justice in the twelfth century (though relying on merely one narrative source, which in itself is indicative of the lack of sources), Klaus Richter, *Friedrich Barbarossa hält Gericht: Zur Konfliktbewältigung im 12. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1999), especially pp. 153–76.

seven times before the end of the thirteenth century.[87] That the secular princes were the main intended audience of the *Reichslandfrieden* is also suggested by the fact that it survives in both a Latin and a Middle High German version.[88] The *Reichslandfrieden* thus marked an important qualitative shift in Frederick's self-representation: he promulgated in a much more public setting, and by using legally binding language, a principle as applicable to all his subjects which, so far, had been invoked primarily against those who opposed him.

Frederick saw to it that the Mainz diet and its edicts were remembered, not only by requesting that the diet's decisions (and the elevation of Otto of Brunswick in particular) be recorded in annals and other works of history,[89] but also by the festive ceremony which concluded the meeting. Wearing his imperial crown, with the princes standing in his presence, the Emperor attended Mass; after the service, all princes and counts were invited to attend a feast which had been prepared in the fields outside Mainz.[90] Crown wearings visualized royal status, they honoured those in whose presence they took place, but they also occurred with some frequency to reaffirm royal authority after it had been challenged.[91] Both these elements had been evident in Mainz. Frederick's crown wearing demonstrated status and served to underline the importance of the decrees promulgated, but it also symbolized the full restoration of imperial power.

Henry's revolt thus intruded into the proceedings at Mainz both directly and indirectly. To some extent, the force with which Frederick had emphasized his desire and ability to do justice, and the degree to which this was an undertaking which could be accomplished only if emperor and princes acted in unison, reflected his earlier handling of Henry (VII)'s revolt. This connection must have been self-evident to most of the diet's participants, but Frederick ensured that this message reached even those who had not been present. The continuator of the *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, for instance, recorded that Frederick had used the Mainz meeting to make public the many crimes committed by Henry,[92] and the revolt also cast its shadow over the reform of the realm. For the *Reichslandfrieden* was as much concerned with reforming the judicial organization of Germany as it had been with condemning the actions of Henry (VII): clauses 15 through 19 dealt with the measures to be taken

[87] In 1273, 1281, 1287, 1291, 1292, 1298. These included confirmations of one version only, and after 1287 focused on the revised German version as confirmed by Rudolf of Habsburg. *Constitutiones*, no. 196.

[88] *Constitutiones*, no. 196a.

[89] *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, ed. by Waitz, p. 267.

[90] *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, ed. by Waitz, p. 267.

[91] Carlrichard Brühl, 'Kronen- und Krönungsgebrauch im frühen und hohen Mittelalter', *HZ*, 194 (1982), 265–326.

[92] *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, ed. by Waitz, p. 267.

against sons who attacked their fathers.[93] This only served to underline the graveness of Henry's offences and justified the harshness with which Frederick had treated his son and his son's allies. It also sounded a warning note to those, like the Duke of Austria, who continued to defy imperial authority.

It certainly would be mistaken to reduce the *Reichslandfrieden* to a mere *pièce justificative*. Matters were more complex than that. The document was designed first and foremost as a means of addressing something which contemporaries perceived as a fundamental weakness in the governmental structure of the empire.[94] New ways had to be found to ensure that peace was maintained and that justice was done. By devolving greater responsibility onto the German princes, Frederick may also have tried to free himself for his campaigns in Lombardy and possibly even the Holy Land. The *Reichslandfrieden* codified principles which, in Frederick's eyes, were at the heart of his imperial office, and which had been grossly violated by his son. By reiterating basic tenets about the purpose of imperial authority, Frederick delegitimized his son's revolt and justified his own actions. This was a connection which neither the Emperor nor his subjects could avoid making, and Frederick successfully sought to turn it into a means of celebrating, strengthening, and expanding the reach of imperial power. To some extent, the Mainz diet thus went back to what Frederick may have intended his visit to symbolize in 1234, but this celebration in turn had been necessitated by the challenges Frederick had so recently overcome.

A very different note was struck in May 1236, when Frederick attended the translation of the relics of St Elisabeth of Thuringia at Marburg. Unlike at Worms or Mainz, this event was not combined with an imperial diet. In a way, Frederick, although honoured before other participants, was but one devotee among many. He was, of course, no mere 'private' pilgrim, and even the demonstrative laying aside of his worldly regalia, his appearance in sackcloth and barefoot,[95] could not be separated from his imperial status. Caesarius of Heisterbach, for instance, reports that, when news of Frederick's imminent arrival reached the brethren, the prior decided to disinter the saint a few days in advance, so as not to delay the Emperor unnecessarily.[96] Nonetheless, this time, unlike at Worms or Speyer, it was not Frederick who

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[93] *Constitutiones*, no. 196; for a more detailed synopsis, see Buschmann, 'Landfriede und Verfassung', pp. 463–65.

[94] See also Buschmann, 'Landfriede und Verfassung', pp. 468–72.

[95] Although this does resemble the traditional garment of penitents, it was also a customary sign of respect for saints. Mayke de Jong, 'Power and Humility in Carolingian Society: The Public Penance of Louis the Pious', *EME*, 1 (1992): 29–52; Nicholas Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 7–19.

[96] *Sermo de Translatione Beate Elyzabeth*, in *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, ed. by Alfons Hilka, 3 vols (Bonn: Peter Hanstein Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1933–37), III, 386–87. The most detailed modern account of the translation and its context is provided by Helmut Beumann, 'Friedrich II. und die heilige Elisabeth: Zum Besuch des Kaisers

took centre stage, but the saint. Amidst a great mass of pilgrims,[97] Frederick, together with select princes, carried the saint's sarcophagus to its new resting place and placed a precious crown on her head before St Elisabeth was reinterred.[98] The events at Marburg stand out from Frederick's German sojourn for their emphasis on his role as a protector of the Church, as a guardian of orthodoxy and of new forms of religious devotion.[99] The Emperor attended the proceedings to honour the saint, and although this highlighted his own devotion, at first sight at least it was unconnected to the recent political turmoil he had faced. This, certainly, was how Frederick himself reported the proceedings to Brother Elias, the general of the Franciscans: he made no mention of his role in the translation, and instead concentrated on the pious life of the saint. Frederick did emphasize his familial relationship with Elisabeth's erstwhile husband, Landgrave Louis of Thuringia,[100] but did not otherwise link himself directly to either the saint or her emerging cult.

Marburg crystallized an element of imperial lordship that had been present in his acts of self-representation throughout Frederick's German sojourn, but one that modern historians have tended to overlook:[101] his dependence on divine approval. The Emperor had repeatedly emphasized that his power ultimately rested with God — as we have seen in the *arengae* of the *Reichslandfrieden* and the charter confirming Otto of Brunswick's enfeoffment with Brunswick-Lüneburg — and a failure to perform his duties was thus not only a crime against those who depended on him for their protection, but against his Creator. Similarly, Frederick's acts of self-representation were embedded in a whole range of religious ceremonies. At Worms, for instance, he had been greeted by twelve bishops singing the *Gloria*, while a solemn mass had concluded the Mainz diet. By honouring the saint, by laying aside his insignia, and by crowning her, Frederick merely emphasized the divinely appointed nature of imperial lordship.

The story of Frederick's visit to Marburg, however, does not end yet. By his participation, Frederick also rewarded one of his closest allies. The cult of St Elisabeth was intrinsically linked to the Teutonic Knights and their master: the saint's new

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in Marburg am 1. Mai 1236', in *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1981), pp. 151–66. See also Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, II, 323–26.

[97] *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, ed. by Waitz, p. 268.

[98] *Sermo de Translatione*, ed. by Hilka, p. 386. There is, however, some doubt as to whether Frederick did actually crown Elisabeth. See Beumann, 'Friedrich II.'.

[99] Beumann, 'Friedrich II.', pp. 156–57; Petersohn, 'Kaisertum und Kultakt', p. 137; Dieter Berg, 'Staufische Herrschaftsideologie und Mendikantenspiritualität', *Wissenschaft und Weisheit*, 51 (1988), 26–51, 185–209.

[100] *Acta imperii inedita*, ed. by Winkelmann, no. 338.

[101] See also the perceptive remarks made by Hans Martin Schaller, 'Die Frömmigkeit Kaiser Friedrichs II', in *Das Staunen der Welt: Kaiser Friedrich II. von Hohenstaufen 1194–1250* (Göppingen: Gesellschaft für staufische Geschichte, 1996), pp. 128–51.

shrine was served by the Knights, and one contemporary source emphasized the role which Hermann of Salza, the master of the Teutonic Knights, in particular had played in securing a papal canonization for Elisabeth,[102] as did Frederick.[103] More importantly, although no immediate reference to Henry's revolt was made during Elisabeth's translation, or even in Frederick's first official account of it, there was a connection implicit in the proceedings. If Frederick had received his imperial office through the will of God, and if doing justice and keeping the peace were the chief means by which Frederick's suitability for holding this office could be demonstrated, then Henry (VII)'s inability and unwillingness to abide by these duties constituted an act which was as blasphemous as it was unjust. This argument had already been used at Mainz, but it was further elaborated in the context of Marburg.

Helmut Beumann has drawn attention to the explicit connection between the translation and Henry's revolt in the so-called Zwettl *Vita* of St Elisabeth, probably written within a few years of the translation, and has suggested that the text had been composed by someone either at the imperial court or close to it.[104] The *Vita* ends with an account of the Emperor's visit to Marburg and places it within the broader historical context of the 1220s and 1230s: Frederick had appointed Henry as King in Germany, so that the presence of the son might compensate for the absence of the father. However, Henry had become jealous of his half-brother, Conrad IV, and rose against his father. The Emperor, accompanied by Conrad, came to Germany to quell the revolt and to respond to the needs of the empire. Having subdued the rebels, he visited Marburg to give thanks to God, and showed such devotion that he layed aside the outward tokens of his worldly power and joined the poor and humble pilgrims.[105]

Frederick's participation in the translation of St Elisabeth was thus portrayed as a counterpoint to the more secular celebrations at Worms and Mainz, and also served to emphasize the righteousness of his actions. Henry, after all, had been moved by base feelings of envy and jealousy, while Frederick acted only in response to the *malitia* of Henry and his partisans, and to set right the affairs of the realm. On Frederick's part, the *Vita* does not mention any desire for revenge, any anger or wrath. His sole motivation had been to safeguard the peace and restore the tranquility of the empire. Moreover, the Emperor's triumph had shown the guiding and protective hand of God. Frederick had earned divine favour by his desire to do justice and to perform his duties as emperor. By contrast, the ease with which Henry's revolt had been overcome illustrated the preposterous and blasphemous nature of the King's

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[102] Diodorus Henniges, 'Vita Sanctae Elisabeth, Landgraviae Thuringiae auctore anonymo nunc primum in lucem edita', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 2 (1909), 240–68 (p. 264). See also Josef Leinweber, 'Das kirchliche Heiligsprechungsverfahren bis zum Jahre 1234: Der Kanonisationsprozeß der hl. Elisabeth von Thüringen', in *Sankt Elisabeth*, pp. 128–36.

[103] *Acta imperii inedita*, ed. by Winkelmann, no. 338.

[104] Beumann, 'Friedrich II.', pp. 155–57, 166 n. 62.

[105] Henniges, 'Vita Sanctae Elisabeth', pp. 267–68.

actions and the baseness of his motives. By taking up arms against Frederick, by allying himself with the Lombards and other enemies of the empire, Henry had thus challenged not only his father, but also his Creator.

The *Vita* links the events at Marburg to the previous stages of Frederick's visit, and to its broader international context. Marburg concluded the Emperor's German sojourn. By July, he set out for Lombardy, while another army marched against Duke Frederick of Austria.[106] The translation of St Elisabeth was thus an appropriate point at which to emphasize that rebelling against the Emperor meant rebelling against God and would inevitably lead to defeat and punishment.[107] This strengthened a message already conveyed at Worms and Mainz. The latter diet, in particular, had emphasized Frederick's divinely sanctioned status, as well as the obligations that status brought with it. Most importantly, Frederick's rule had been justified by his desire and his ability to perform the very functions which Henry had been so singularly unwilling and incapable of performing. The Emperor's interpretation of the translation of St Elisabeth reinforced the condemnation of those who resisted him not only as incapable of maintaining but as hostile towards the very idea of peace and justice. The events at Marburg, furthermore, illustrate how Frederick's position had been strengthened in the months since his arrival at Worms: the proceedings in July 1235 had been dominated by the need to punish the rebels, and even at Mainz it was still deemed necessary to emphasize the legitimacy of Frederick's response. By the spring of 1236, however, the rebellion had been overcome. Frederick of Austria would soon be dealt with, while Frederick himself would see to it that Henry's Lombard backers would share the fate of their erstwhile champion.

A number of important features have emerged. Most importantly, we have noticed a gradual hardening and elaboration of Frederick's understanding of the nature of his office, of its duties and purpose, and of his relationship with his subjects. Few of these elements were particularly new or revolutionary: that secular authority was divinely ordained, and that its chief aim was to maintain peace and justice, had been part and parcel of Christian political thought since Late Antiquity, while the belief that ruling the empire was a joint undertaking of emperor and princes had been a generally accepted maxim since at least the twelfth century.[108] Rather, the innovative element in Frederick's representation of imperial lordship rested, first, with his incorporating the challenge of Henry's revolt, and with his interpretation of universally acknowledged principles. In a way, his handling of Henry's uprising rested on a gamble: Frederick responded not by negotiating with Henry, by refuting the reasons

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[106] *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, ed. by Waitz, pp. 268–71; *Annales Scheftlarienses Maiores*, ed. by Waitz, pp. 340–41; *Hermanni Altahensis Annales*, ed. by Waitz, MGH SS, 17, p. 392; *Continuatio Sancrucensis II*, ed. by Waitz, p. 638.

[107] As pointed out by Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, II, 325.

[108] Jutta Schlick, *König, Fürsten und Reich (1056–1159): Herrschaftsverständnis im Wandel* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001), as the most recent study.

the King had given for his actions, or by engaging him in combat, but by ignoring him. Ultimately, the extent and the ease of his success allowed the Emperor to pursue further the very policies which had driven Henry to arms in the first place. He did so by presenting his actions as rooted in the established principles of imperial lordship: all he did was safeguard the integrity of the realm, and he did so by calling on the princes to undertake their fair share in maintaining peace and justice. Hidden underneath this rather clichéd language was, however, an attempt at an unprecedented expansion of imperial power. This also contextualizes Frederick's frequent references to Henry's revolt. On the one hand, these may well indicate that the uprising had not been overcome as easily as the surviving sources might lead us to believe. On the other hand, it was through the repeated contrasting of his own actions with those of his son that Frederick was able to justify and put forth a reading of his duties and obligations which far exceeded what his predecessors had attempted. In doing so, the Emperor performed a careful balancing act, and we should not underestimate the risks he faced. He had been able to rescind even his own privileges, to impose a sense of obligation on the princes, and to hold forth the prospect that their failure to abide by their duties would leave them open to a treatment not dissimilar from that inflicted upon Henry and his allies because of the threat Henry (VII) had posed. By the time Frederick left Germany his standing was thus greater, his power and influence stronger, than it had been ever since he had been crowned King of the Romans twenty years earlier.[109]

IV

The time has now come to look beyond the individual stages of Frederick's sojourn, and to address a series of more general questions. Let us begin by considering a point which we have referred to intermittently, and which was central to Frederick's understanding both of his duties and functions and of Henry's revolt: the *honor imperii et imperatoris*, the honour of empire and emperor. Knut Görich has alerted us to the importance of the *honor imperii* in the politics of Frederick Barbarossa's reign, and in Frederick II's dealings with the Lombard communes.[110] *Honor* was an ill-defined concept which, nonetheless, by its implications of prestige and standing,

[109] The change is especially striking when compared, for instance, with the *Constitutio in favorem principum* of 1232 (*Constitutiones*, no. 171), as emphasized by Boshof, 'Reich und Reichsfürsten', pp. 12–13.

[110] Knut Görich, *Die Ehre Friedrich Barbarossas: Kommunikation, Konflikt und politisches Handeln im 12. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2001); Görich, 'Ehre als Handlungsmotiv in der Politik Friedrichs II.', paper presented to the colloquium of the British Academy Research Network 'Political Culture in Norman and Angevin England (1066–1272) in Comparative Perspective' at Bamberg, 5–8 April 2004. It is to this paper in particular that the following is indebted.

added to or detracted from a ruler's ability to influence the actions, to demand the respect and loyalty of his subjects. Accusations that Frederick's honour had been violated thus played a prominent part in the events of 1235–36. Henry (VII), for instance, was accused of violating the honour of the princes by attacking them, by distrusting them, and by demanding hostages of them, thus conspiring against his father's honour, too.[111] This had not been the first time that the concept of the *honor imperii* had been invoked in relations between father and son: when Henry submitted to Frederick II in April 1232, for instance, he had done so for the general benefit and the honour of the empire (*pro generali commodo et honore imperii*).[112] By taking up arms against the Emperor, the King of the Romans perjured himself, but he also brought shame and dishonour on the very realm he had been called upon to rule.

A similar line of reasoning was employed against the Duke of Austria. In a letter, probably dating from early 1236, in which the Emperor informed the King of Bohemia of his reasons for attacking Duke Frederick, he started out by listing Frederick's many deeds against 'our honour and the dignity of the empire' (*contra honorem nostrum et imperii dignitatem*), followed by the numerous crimes the Duke had committed against his own people: he persecuted widows and orphans, oppressed the rich, humiliated his nobles, raped noblewomen or allowed his followers to do so. The Emperor, with the support of the princes, had tried to return the Duke to the path of righteousness. This, however, met with little success, and the Duke even allied with the Milanese 'against our honour and that of the empire' (*contra honorem nostrum et imperii*).[113] This was combined with a second line of argument in which, more explicitly even than in the case of Henry (VII), the Duke's lack of honourable conduct was linked to his refusal to act like a prince should act (by persecuting rather than protecting his people) and the frequent attacks on the honour and status of his own subjects (by humiliating his nobles, by allowing high-born women to be raped, or by forcefully marrying them to men of low social status). In doing so, he failed to accomplish the duties he had been called upon to perform on behalf of the Emperor, and it was left to Frederick to restore his own honour by protecting and restoring that of the Duke's subjects.[114] If the Emperor had failed to intervene in Austria, or if he had taken a less stern stance towards his son, he would have condoned actions which undermined his *honor* and authority. This does not mean that this line of argument had been forced upon him — Frederick, not his son or the Duke of Austria, had invoked the *honor imperii*.[115] However, once that line had been taken, the Emperor was forced to demonstrate, publicly and repeatedly, that his honour had been

[111] *Constitutiones*, no. 193.

[112] *Constitutiones*, no. 170.

[113] *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Babenberger*, ed. by von Mitis and others, no. 1198.

[114] Ibid., no. 1193.

[115] We should also note that this concept barely registered in the narrative sources. Weiler, *Kingship*, chapter 4.

restored.[116] That, in turn, could be done by showing his ability to exercise his duties as lord and prince (by making peace, by punishing evildoers and rebels), by enlisting the support of the princes (who shared in the governance of the realm, and whose own honour was thus touched), and by demonstrating his standing and power. Up to a point, Duke Frederick was the first victim of the Emperor's new and more radical reading of the relationship between princes and empire, and of their duties and functions. This conflict had, of course, been brewing for some time. Even so, the Emperor demonstrated that the principles which had justified Henry (VII)'s deposition applied to all those who held secular power, and one of the terms by which that relationship could be described was a discourse of honour and dignity.

We should also take note how far the ceremonial language of Frederick's German sojourn differed from the plans he had announced in 1234. This is perhaps where Henry (VII)'s challenge is most evident. Not only had he allied himself with the Lombards, but he had also threatened the precarious concord which had been established with Gregory IX,[117] and he harmed the affairs of the Holy Land. In fact, it seems that preaching the crusade, which was to have been one of the chief aims of the visit announced in 1234, had largely fallen by the wayside. No papal legate accompanied Frederick, and none of the sources describing the events of 1235–36 link either the wedding at Worms or the Mainz diet to preparations for the 1238/9 campaign. At best, some indirect echoes survived: the Emperor was, after all, accompanied by Conrad, the under age King of Jerusalem.[118] That Conrad did accompany his father was, however, primarily directed at Henry and Henry's partisans, to whom it indicated the ease with which they could be replaced. The translation of Elisabeth points in a similar direction: in his letter to Elias, and in the Zwettl version of her *Vita*, Frederick and his court made no references to the needs of the Holy Land. At best an indirect echo can de detected in the fact that the *Vita* described Frederick's departure from Germany in 1220 as necessitated by the affairs of Italy and the Holy Land, and that it called Conrad by his full regal title. The Emperor's devotion and piety, his veneration for (and relationship with) the saint took centre stage, as did the gratitude he felt for divine aid in delivering him from the evil of his son's rebellion.

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[116] In the *Reichslandfrieden*, for instance, Frederick claimed that he had been appointed so as to bind his subjects with the twin bonds of justice and peace, that thereby greater fame and honour might accrue to his own name, and greater good to his subjects. The elevation of Otto had been introduced in similar terms: the Emperor's duties and honour demanded that he reform the realm and create peace among those above whom God had placed him. *Constitutiones*, nos 196–97.

[117] This point was stressed by Gregory IX's partisans, who represented Frederick's departure for Germany as yet another example of the Emperor's lack of both faith and gratitude: *Vita Gregorii IX*, in *Le 'Liber Censuum' de l'Eglise Romaine*, ed. by P. Fabre, L. Duchesne, and G. Mollat, 3 vols (Paris: Fontemoing et Cie, [puis] E. de Boccard, 1889–1952), II (1895), 8–36 (p. 27).

[118] *Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgenses*, ed. by Waitz, p. 786.

Neither the role of the Knights as a crusading order nor the fact that Landgrave Louis had died while on crusade were mentioned.

Considering the fervour with which Frederick had assisted planning the crusade, and taking into account that papal preparations, too, had reached a peak, the absence of references to the Holy Land seems remarkable. This may indicate the degree to which Henry's rebellion had forced a change of direction upon the Emperor. What had been intended as a triumphant return, a celebration of the imperial presence, a call to the assistance of the Holy Land, and a prelude to a final settlement of the Lombard question, turned out to be a prolonged ceremonial reassessment of Henry's rebellion. As such, the ceremonial programme of the Emperor's German sojourn may further underline the impression given, for instance, by Matthew Paris's account of the measures taken for Isabella's safety on her arrival in Germany, or even by the speed with which Henry was moved from Germany to Apulia,[119] and by the fact that, when he was imprisoned, he was not entrusted to imperial *ministeriales*, among the most loyal of his supporters,[120] but to the Duke of Bavaria, his most ardent foe. It seems that Henry's revolt was more serious, its consequences more threatening, and possibly even his support more widespread than Frederick's success or many of the narrative sources would let us believe.

This is not to say, however, that the Emperor passively endured the challenges he faced. To some extent, his hand had been forced, and the emphasis placed at Mainz on the abominable crimes committed by the King, for instance, or the interpretation of Frederick's participation in St Elisabeth's translation certainly reflect the need to overcome and justify the actions taken against Henry. This may also have undermined some elements of imperial self-representation: the Emperor's emphasis on the role of the princes in the running of the empire, for instance, or his insistence on justice as the key duty of monarchs and rulers cannot be read in isolation from the accusations he had levelled at Henry (VII). Nonetheless, Frederick took the opportunity to introduce a new element into his ritual and ceremonial progress which could be utilized beyond its immediate context: Henry had wronged Frederick not only by resisting him, but also by his inability to conform to basic principles of the just exercise of secular authority. He had wronged those without whom royal or princely duties could not be fulfilled: his princely and noble subjects. Frederick's ceremonial progress through Germany had partly been designed to emphasize that, unlike his son, he acted at the behest of and in close cooperation with the princes; unlike Henry, he was able to settle feuds and to do justice to and to protect those who could not protect themselves. Ceremonially, at least, Frederick had transformed the threat of Henry's revolt into a more rigorous and more radical interpretation of imperial

[119] Beumann, 'Friedrich II.', p. 147.

[120] Karl Borchardt, 'Der sogenannte Aufstand Heinrichs (VII.) in Franken 1234/35', in *Forschungen zur bayerischen und fränkischen Geschichte: Festschrift Peter Herde*, ed. by Karl Borchardt and Enno Bünz (Würzburg: Schöningh, 1998), pp. 53–119.

lordship. The conservatism of the language in which Frederick couched these claims should not deceive us as to the fact that he used them to achieve a degree of power and authority which few of his predecessors had either held or envisaged.

Frederick went beyond merely claiming greater power and sought to turn theoretical precept into political reality. The months between the Mainz diet and the Emperor's visit to Marburg had been interspersed with diets and assemblies in which he strove to implement the principles promulgated in the *Reichslandfrieden.* Sometimes, as in the meeting he held at Hagenau in the winter of 1235/6 with the Counts of Provence and Toulouse, this was done peacefully;[121] at other times, as with the Duke of Austria, it was done fully aware that armed conflict would be inevitable. This is not the place to offer a detailed exposition of the Emperor's dealings with the Duke,[122] but we should note, first, the similarity of the arguments used to condemn Henry (VII) and Duke Frederick (both were unwilling to do justice, they oppressed their nobles, and by doing so violated the honour of the empire, of the Emperor, and of their own subjects) and, second, the harsh measures taken against them (Henry was imprisoned and exiled to Sicily, while the campaign waged against the Duke aimed at a complete dispossession of the Babenbergers in Austria). That Frederick spent much of 1237 in residence at Vienna, confirming and issuing grants, taking full control of the affairs of the duchy,[123] was a clear indication of what he intended that war to accomplish: due to the Duke's incompetence and tyranny the duchies of Austria and Styria had returned to the empire.[124]

Obviously, the forceful stance taken by the Emperor against his son and Duke Frederick was made easier by the fact that they had alienated the very people who could have supported them. Even so, little doubt was left as to the precedent which was thereby to be set, and Frederick repeatedly underlined this point.[125] And he linked the subjugation of Austria symbolically to that of Henry (VII): in 1237, while at Vienna, he had the assembled princes elect Conrad King of the Romans.[126] With

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[121] *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, ed. by Waitz, pp. 267–68; the significance of the Hagenau diet in 1235/6 has largely been overlooked by modern historians. See, for instance, Stürner, *Friedrich II*., II, 330 n. 119.

[122] See Dopsch, Brunner, and Weltin, *Österreichische Geschichte*, pp. 189–94, for the most recent treatment.

[123] *Chronica Regia Colononiensis*, ed. by Waitz, pp. 270–72; *Annales Scheftlarienses Maiores*, ed. by Waitz, pp. 340–41; *Hermanni Altahenses Annales*, ed. by Waitz, pp. 392–93; *Continuatio Lambacensis*, ed. by Georg Waitz, MGH SS, 9, p. 559; *Continuatio Sancrucensis II*, ed. by Waitz, pp. 638–39; *Continuatio Praedicatorum Vindobonensium*, ed. by Georg Waitz, MGH SS, 9, p. 727; *Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgenses*, ed. by Waitz, pp. 786–87.

[124] *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, ed. by Waitz, p. 271.

[125] *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Babenberger*, ed. by von Mitis and others, nos 1197–98, 1205.

[126] *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, ed. by Waitz, p. 271; *Constitutiones*, no. 329.

that, the King's revolt had finally been overcome, while the fact that it took place in Duke Frederick's erstwhile residence emphasized that Henry's fate would be shared by all those who rebelled against their rightful lord and who were unwilling or unable to perform their duties.

Conrad IV's election and Frederick's German sojourn more generally also allow us to consider more fundamental points about the range and limitations of imperial self-representation. To begin with, Conrad was elected, but during the Emperor's lifetime he was never crowned, King of the Romans, while the degree of authority he was granted by his father was more limited than that held by Henry (VII).[127] The Emperor may have sought to apply his new reading of imperial authority in practice, but he was also realist enough to be aware of the challenges he faced. Second, the subjugation of Austria was not to last. When Frederick left for Lombardy in 1237, he entrusted Vienna to the Bishops of Würzburg and Passau, who soon thereafter were decisively beaten by Duke Frederick.[128] In fact, by 1240, after the Emperor's second excommunication, the Duke was taken back into favour and, ironically, remained one of Frederick's most trusted allies.[129] All this points to the fundamental challenge facing all forms of imperial governance in the thirteenth century: ultimately, the degree of power an emperor was able to exercise depended on his physical presence.

That imperial lordship was personal lordship is a commonplace of modern scholarship. The degree of an emperor's authority ebbed and flowed with his physical whereabouts: Henry's support crumbled the moment Frederick arrived, but it had also been effective only where Henry himself had been physically present; similarly, the subjugation of Austria had been accomplished only with the Emperor present, and it collapsed once he left for Lombardy. This had repercussions for Frederick's understanding of imperial lordship. The tenet that the princes shared in the governance of the realm, that they exercised power through and on behalf of the monarch, had been an attempt to address this problem, as had been the plan to appoint an imperial justiciar to hear cases in the Emperor's place. That the princes' share in running the realm also meant shouldering some of the tasks of maintaining peace and order, and that a professional judge had been appointed to act for the Emperor, would have gone some way towards compensating for Frederick's inevitable absence. At the same time, Frederick had only been able to enforce his reading of the role of the princes while he was physically present. Without him, and without a king able to exercise his authority freely and fully, the focal point of imperial governance was missing, and the edifice, so carefully constructed in 1235–36, collapsed. There was a marked difference between the princes' willingness to

[127] Boshof, 'Reich und Reichsfürsten', pp. 13–14.

[128] *Hermanni Altahensis Annales*, ed. by Waitz, p. 393; *Continuatio Lambacensis*, ed. by Waitz, p. 559; *Continuatio Sancrucensis II*, ed. by Waitz, p. 639; *Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgenses*, ed. by Waitz, pp. 786–87.

[129] *Constitutiones*, no. 261; Hausmann, 'Friedrich II. und Österreich', pp. 268–74.

heed the Emperor's call for sharing in the governance of the realm while he was present and their reluctance to do so when he reminded them of their duties from beyond the Alps.[130]

This should warn us, first, against reading Frederick's reliance on the princes as a sign of imperial weakness: rather, he was trying to get them to shoulder a task upon which they were highly reluctant to embark. It took considerable political strength, a mixture of sheer overpowering might and of the kind of increased prestige and standing which Frederick had been able to muster in the early 1230s, for the princes to share in the burdens of imperial government. Second, we should be aware of how significant Henry (VII)'s revolt was, without exaggerating its importance. It had forced Frederick to formulate more clearly what he deemed the role of the Emperor to be, to put in more precise terms the extent and the purpose of his duties and obligations. Frederick also turned this challenge to his advantage and sought to use it for a thorough and groundbreaking reform of the way Germany and the empire were ruled. That, in the end, all this remained a mere episode in the history of late Staufen Germany should not mean that we ignore either its significance or its complexity.

[130] See Boshof, 'Reich und Reichsfürsten', pp. 16–24, for a more detailed exposition.

The Role of Frederick II in the Works of Guillaume de Nangis

CHRIS JONES

The road leading up to the French king Louis IX's canonization on 6 August 1297 was a long and arduous one. The twenty-seven years that followed the King's death on crusade in 1270 were marked by frequent petitions to the papacy and multiple enquiries into Louis's sanctity.[1] The final impetus behind the papal decision to canonize Louis probably owed much to a desire on the part of Pope Boniface VIII to make a conciliatory gesture. In 1296 Boniface's relations with Louis's grandson, Philip IV the Fair, declined rapidly following papal efforts to prevent the King's attempts to tax the French clergy. When Philip retaliated, Boniface had little choice but to make a rapid volte-face in policy and attempt to reconcile himself with the Capetian king.[2] For Philip's part, his grandfather's canonization was of immense importance: a saint amongst his ancestors set the seal upon Philip's own authority, associating the King with a dual inheritance not simply of royal authority

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[1] Louis Carolus-Barré, *Le procès de canonisation de Saint Louis (1272–1297): essai de reconstitution*, ed. by Henri Platelle (Rome: École française de Rome, 1994), pp. 17–28.

[2] Thomas S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII* (Oxford: Constable, 1933), pp. 131–56; Joseph R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 251–55; Jean Favier, *Philippe Le Bel*, rev. edn (Paris: Fayard, 1998), pp. 274–86; Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Boniface VIII: Un pape hérétique?* (Paris: Payot and Rivages, 2003), pp. 139–51.

but also of sanctity.[3] Philip consequently made every effort to promote his grandfather's cult in order to capitalize upon it.[4] Yet, while the Capetians were undoubtedly the 'prime mover' in the promotion of Louis's sanctity, their efforts were by no means the only factor of importance in establishing their ancestor as a saint.

This essay is concerned with the process by which *King* Louis was gradually transformed into *Saint* Louis between 1270 and 1297. It focuses upon the approach adopted by one group to this process, the Benedictine monks of the royal abbey of Saint-Denis, and specifically upon one element inextricably connected with the portrayal of Louis in Dionysian accounts: the representation of his contemporary, the Staufer emperor Frederick II (1194–1250; emperor from 1220). Frederick's depiction in works produced at Saint-Denis is not altogether unexplored and has been discussed in recent work by Mireille Chazan[5] and Andrea Sommerlechner.[6] Nevertheless, there remains much to explore regarding the role Dionysian writers attributed to Frederick. In order to understand fully the representation of the Emperor in Dionysian works it is first necessary to understand what it was the monks sought to achieve. It will be suggested not only that the 'Dionysian Frederick' was an element in a conceit conceived with a specific purpose, but that changing circumstances rendered this conceit redundant within a few decades of its conception. An exploration of Frederick's role will throw light on some of the factors that contributed to the construction of historical accounts in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century France. At the same time it will highlight the flexibility of the boundaries between the genres into which historians are often inclined to categorize and separate works, genres such as 'universal history' or 'hagiography'.[7]

What qualified someone to be a saint in late thirteenth-century France? This is a question to which no entirely straightforward answer can be given. For the ecclesiastical hierarchy, at least, the qualifications for sainthood changed over time. While saints continued to be drawn largely from the ranks of the nobility, the thirteenth

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[3] For sanctity as a transmissible quality, see André Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981), pp. 209–14.

[4] Elizabeth M. Hallam, 'Philip the Fair and the Cult of Saint Louis', in *Studies in Church History*, vol. XVIII: *Religion and National Identity*, ed. by Stuart Mews (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), pp. 201–14, where it is suggested that the importance of Louis's cult in Philip's religious patronage has been underestimated; Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'The Prince is Father of the King: The Character and Childhood of Philip the Fair of France', *Mediaeval Studies*, 49 (1987), 282–334 (pp. 310–11).

[5] Mireille Chazan, 'Guillaume de Nangis et la translation de l'Empire aux rois de France', in *Saint-Denis et la royauté: Études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, ed. by Françoise Autrand, Claude Gauvard, and Jean–Marie Moeglin (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), pp. 463–80.

[6] Andrea Sommerlechner, *Stupor Mundi? Kaiser Friedrich II. und die mittelalterliche Geschichtsschreibung* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenshaften, 1999).

[7] See ibid., pp. 17–132, for an excellent recent example.

century saw a gradual evolution towards a concept of sanctity defined chiefly by the adoption of a lifestyle modelled upon the humility and poverty advocated by the mendicant orders.[8] It was not coincidence that many of those connected with putting the case for Louis IX's sanctity were members of the Dominican and Franciscan orders and that they drew particular attention to Louis's humble lifestyle, presenting the King in the image of a mendicant brother.[9] In the late twelfth century Pope Alexander III had reserved to the papacy the right to determine who could and could not be publicly venerated as a saint, a principle later endorsed by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215).[10] Yet if meeting the criteria for sanctity approved by the ecclesiastical hierarchy was clearly important, it was not the only obstacle to be overcome in the canonization process.

If a new cult was to be of any significance it must obtain some degree of popular support and endorsement or else slip into obscurity. The late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries witnessed the appearance of multiple accounts of the King's life intended to establish Louis's credibility. The earliest of these works, the life commissioned by Pope Gregory X from the King's confessor, the Dominican Geoffroi de Beaulieu (1272–73),[11] and the later *vita* by Louis's chaplain, the Dominican Guillaume de Chartres (1270s),[12] may have been intended primarily for an ecclesiastical audience. Yet the decision to translate the work of the Franciscan Guillaume de Saint-Pathus (*c*. 1302–03) into French[13] and of the King's companion, Jean de Joinville, to prepare his own *Livre des saintes paroles et des bons faiz nostre saint roy Looÿs* (*c*. late 1305–October 1309)[14] in the vernacular suggests that after Louis was canonized it was considered both necessary and desirable to promote his cult beyond a purely Latin-speaking audience. With the notable exception of Jacques Le Goff, historians have tended to maintain a strict separation between this list of 'hagiographical' works and

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[8] Vauchez, *Sainteté en Occident*, pp. 206–07.

[9] Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), pp. 332–33; Vauchez, *Sainteté en Occident*, p. 416.

[10] Carolus-Barré, *Procès de canonisation*, p. 13.

[11] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 333–35.

[12] Ibid., pp. 335–37.

[13] Ibid., pp. 337–41. The only extant version of Guillaume's work is in French, although it is presumed that this is a translation of a Latin original: *Vie de saint Louis par Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, confesseur de la reine Marguerite*, ed. by Henri–François Delaborde (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1899), pp. x–xii. The extant manuscript evidence suggests that the French version existed from at least 1310–20: *Vie de saint Louis, par le confesseur de la reine Marguerite*, ed. by P. C. F. Daunou and J. Naudet, in *Recueil des historiens des gaules et de la France*, 24 vols (Paris: L'Imprimerie royale, 1738–1904) [henceforth *RHGF*], XX (1840), 58.

[14] Concerning dating, see Jean de Joinville, *Livre des saintes paroles et des bons faiz nostre saint roy Looÿs*, ed. and trans. by Jacques Monfrin, *Vie de saint Louis* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 1995), pp. lxvi–lxxvi.

the more 'historical' accounts of Louis's reign produced at Saint-Denis, many of which were also to appear in vernacular versions after 1300.[15] Sommerlechner, for example, chose to make no more than a passing reference to Joinville's hagiography in her study of approaches to Frederick in contemporary historical accounts.[16] Yet the desire of the Capetian dynasty to promote Louis's sanctity coincided with a period in which the historical workshops of Saint-Denis came into full bloom.

Under the direction of Abbot Suger († 1151) in the mid-twelfth century, Saint-Denis became a centre for royal historiography and intimately connected with promoting the interests of the Capetian dynasty.[17] In the century that followed his death, Suger's successors continued his policy of fostering close relations between the abbey and the royal court. During Louis IX's reign, the Abbot of Saint-Denis, Mathieu de Vendôme († 1286), rose to such prominence that the King invested him with the joint-regency of his kingdom when setting out on his second crusade.[18] Mathieu, both as a royal councillor and as regent for a second time during the equally ill-fated Aragonese crusade, continued to occupy an important role in Louis's son's reign.[19] The Abbots of Saint-Denis also continued to oversee, albeit intermittently, the production and compilation of historical works in their abbey.[20] The monks were not compilers of 'official' history, in the sense that such a term implies that they operated in the capacity of royal officials or that the content was dictated directly by the court.[21] Yet they were keen to write a history favourable to the Capetians and to associate themselves with it, principally with the intention of promoting the importance of their own abbey. Between 1277 and 1285, around the time that papal representatives conducted the most important of the investigations into Louis's sanctity in the grounds of the abbey of Saint-Denis itself (May 1282–March 1283),[22] a Dionysian set out to write his own account of the King's life.

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[15] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 345–62. Although Le Goff emphasizes that a strict separation existed between medieval literary genres: ibid., p. 349.

[16] Sommerlechner, *Stupor Mundi?*, pp. 11, 114, 248, n. 36.

[17] Ibid., p. 112. Concerning Suger's career, see Michel Bur, *Suger, abbé de Saint-Denis, régent de France* (Paris: Perrin, 1991); Lindy M. Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (Harlow: Longman, 1998).

[18] Jean Richard, *Saint Louis, roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre sainte* (Paris: Fayard, 1983), pp. 552–54.

[19] Charles-Victor Langlois, *Le règne de Philippe III le Hardi* (Paris: Hachette, 1887), p. 41; Gérard Sivéry, *Philippe III le Hardi* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), pp. 191–99.

[20] For an account of the works produced at Saint-Denis in this period, see Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey* (Leyden: Brill, 1978), pp. 53–71.

[21] Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1980), pp. 338–40.

[22] Carolus-Barré, *Procès de canonisation*, pp. 20–22.

In the last quarter of the thirteenth century the scriptorium of Saint-Denis was essentially the workshop of one man, Guillaume de Nangis. Little is known of Guillaume's life beyond the fact that he was a probable eyewitness to Louis's burial in 1271, that he occupied the role of transcriber of charters and keeper of the abbey's archives from the late 1280s, and that he died in 1300.[23] The *Gesta sanctae recordationis et bonae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae gloriosi* or *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, his earliest known work, contains the essence of the Dionysian portrait of Frederick II, and was completed before 1285.[24] As this draws upon Geoffroi de Beaulieu's work,[25] it was certainly begun after 1273, but, as Guillaume also drew extensively upon a Latin chronicle written by an earlier Dionysian, Primat, it seems likely that the *Gesta* was not begun until after 1277.

The relationship between Guillaume's *Gesta* and Primat's work is difficult to determine with any certainty. Unlike his *Roman des rois* — a translation of Saint-Denis's Latin histories of the Kings of France that was later to form the core of the *Grandes chroniques de France* — only a fragment of Primat's Latin chronicle survives. Even this does so only in the form of a fourteenth-century French translation preserved in one exemplar. Jean de (or du) Vignay, a Hospitaller of Saint-Jacques du Haut-Pas, informed his readers that he had prepared this latter in order to continue a translation of Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* made at the request of Philip VI de Valois's queen.[26] As a consequence the extant fragment of Primat's chronicle covers only the years between 1250 and 1277. After this date Primat's contribution comes to an abrupt halt and Jean resorted to an alternative source to continue his translation-compilation. This has led to the plausible suggestion that Primat in fact died in 1277, leaving his chronicle incomplete.[27]

Although Guillaume made no reference to his use of Primat's chronicle, there is a striking resemblance between the later sections of the *Gesta* and the surviving fragment of Primat's work, and Guillaume clearly drew upon it considerably.[28] At the same time Guillaume appears to have deviated from, omitted, or rewritten several sections of his predecessor's work. A notable example of such changes is Guillaume's revision of aspects of Primat's account of the doomed attempt by Frederick II's

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[23] Chazan, 'Guillaume', p. 463; Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, pp. 99–100.

[24] The *Gesta* was originally dedicated to Philip III († 1285): Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 101, n. 213. Compare with Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 349.

[25] Guillaume noted his use of Geoffroi: *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae; auctore Guillelmo de Nangiaco – Vita Sancti Ludovici regis Franciae* [henceforth *Gesta*], ed. by Daunou and Naudet, in *RHGF*, XX, 310.

[26] *Chronique de Primat, traduite par Jean du Vignay*, ed. by Natalis de Wailly, Léopold Delisle, and C.-M.-G. B. Jourdain, in *RHGF*, XXIII (1894), 63.

[27] Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, pp. 86–87.

[28] Hermann Brosien, 'Wilhelm von Nangis und Primat', *NA*, 4 (1879), 427–509.

grandson, Conradin, to unseat Charles of Anjou from his Sicilian kingdom in 1268.[29] It is impossible to know the extent to which Guillaume relied upon, or indeed altered, Primat's account of events prior to 1250. The same must be said of the *Gesta*'s relationship with the work of Gilon de Reims. Guillaume noted his use of an incomplete work by Gilon in his introduction to the *Gesta*, but, beyond the fact that he was a monk of Saint-Denis, nothing further is known of Gilon and his work.[30] Consequently, although Guillaume will be assumed here to be the author of the *Gesta*'s portrait of Frederick II, he was almost certainly dependant upon Primat or Gilon to some extent, and his account should be read with the caveat that its author may — or may not — have deviated considerably from his predecessors' portrayals. In any case, as Guenée noted, a compilation is not simply repetition, but re-creation.[31] Guillaume was a compiler whose originality lay in the way he assembled his materials.[32]

Guillaume sought to depict his subject as the perfect Christian king. In doing so he faced several problems, one of which was that Louis IX could appear considerably *less good* than was desirable. How could such a problem be solved? Guillaume's predecessors in the Saint-Denis scriptorium had found the Carolingian past sufficiently flexible to be able to rewrite large sections of it.[33] Yet conceptions of 'history' appear to have changed sufficiently by Guillaume's day for wholesale reinvention to have become problematic: Hélinand de Froidmond, for example, had, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, already questioned aspects of the Dionysian account of Charlemagne's alleged journey to the Holy Land. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines was to follow in his footsteps a few decades later.[34] These changing attitudes, coupled almost certainly with the fact that Louis's reign was well within living memory, led Guillaume to adopt a more subtle approach. The *Gesta* was based

[29] Chris Jones, 'The Eclipse of Empire? Perceptions of the Western Empire and its Rulers in Thirteenth- and Early Fourteenth-Century France' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 2003), p. 195.

[30] *Gesta*, *RHGF*, XX, 310. Spiegel noted the possibility that Primat's chronicle may have been no more than a continuation of Gilon's work: Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, pp. 90–91.

[31] Bernard Guenée, 'L'historien et la compilation au XIII^e siècle', *Journal des Savants* (1985), 119–35 (p. 126).

[32] Compare with Spiegel's judgment (*Chronicle Tradition*, p. 101) that in the *Gesta* Guillaume was 'largely dependent on prior sources and often confused, even unintelligible, in his handling of their material'.

[33] Guenée, *Histoire*, pp. 351–52.

[34] Mireille Chazan, 'Les lieux de la critique dans l'historiographie médiévale', in *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge, Mélanges en l'honneur d'Hervé Martin*, ed. by Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, Amaury Chauou, Daniel Pichot, and Lionel Rousselot (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003), pp. 35–36.

upon combining carefully selected episodes from Louis's life with an equal attention to detail in the way these episodes were presented.[35]

Louis's relationship with the ecclesiastical hierarchy provides an excellent example of Guillaume's approach. That these relations were perceived to have been consistently good was a theme that appeared in many biographies of the King and one which was underlined in Boniface VIII's bull of canonization.[36] Yet in the early years of Louis's reign, the King's relationship with the French episcopate had been anything but good. Relations were actually tremendously strained: interdicts and archiepiscopal excommunications abounded and there was even the threat that the Pope might excommunicate the King himself. Louis became particularly embroiled in a series of disputes with the Archbishop of Rouen. In the first of these, the Archbishop retaliated by placing royal lands in his diocese under interdict, and in the second (1232–34) by employing not only the interdict but also by excommunicating royal officials.[37] A further dispute, this time with the Bishops of Beauvais, lasted throughout the 1230s and was only finally regulated on the eve of Louis's departure on crusade.[38] These events were by no means unknown to contemporaries.

The disputes between the King and the Archbishop of Rouen were recorded in at least two local accounts, the annals of the cathedral chapter of Rouen[39] and those of the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Taurin of Évreux.[40] The explosive dispute with the Bishops of Beauvais was alluded to in a rhyming chronicle written in the 1240s by Philippe Mousket († ?1243), a citizen of Tournai.[41] It also appeared in the *Récits* of the minstrel of Reims, written in the 1260s, although the minstrel skilfully avoided placing Louis at the centre of the dispute by transforming it into an altercation between the Bishop and the queen mother.[42] If Louis was a saint it was

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[35] Spiegel's judgment (*Chronicle Tradition*, p. 101) that Guillaume displays 'irreproachable objectivity' was rightly questioned by Le Goff. The latter was inclined to consider Guillaume's universal chronicle to be 'objective', although he highlighted the unusual prominence given to Louis in the work: Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 349–50.

[36] Vauchez, *Sainteté en Occident*, pp. 415–16.

[37] Gerard Campbell, 'The Attitude of the Monarchy toward the Use of Ecclesiastical Censures in the Reign of Saint Louis', *Speculum*, 35 (1960), 535–55 (pp. 538–41); Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 78.

[38] Odette Pontal, 'Le différend entre Louis IX et les évêques de Beauvais et ses incidences sur les conciles (1232–1248)', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 123 (1965), 5–34; Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 82; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 118–21.

[39] *E Chronico Rotomagensi*, ed. by de Wailly, Delisle, and Jourdain, in *RHGF*, XXIII, 332–33.

[40] *E Chronico monasterii Sancti Taurini Ebroicensis*, ed. by de Wailly, Delisle, and Jourdain, in *RHGF*, XXIII, 466.

[41] *Fragment de la chronique rimée de Philippe Mousket*, ed. by Natalis de Wailly and Léopold Delisle, in *RHGF*, XXII (1865), 58, lines 29196–205.

[42] *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims au treizième siècle*, chapter 20, ed. by Natalis de Wailly (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1876), pp. 93–102.

clearly inappropriate that he should engage in lengthy and heated disputes with the Pope, archbishops, and bishops over issues of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The *Gesta* solved these potential problems by ignoring them. In Guillaume's account the early years of Louis's life saw the miraculous defeat of rebellious barons and the rediscovery of the Holy Nail; it was not witness to the King's attempts to curb the authority of his episcopate and his defiance of the Pope.

Possibly the best example of Guillaume's selective approach to episodes that could potentially reflect badly upon Louis's reputation was his decision to exclude Frederick II's crusade from the *Gesta*. In the late 1220s, in the first years of Louis's reign, the Staufer emperor had led a relatively bloodless expedition to the Holy Land in which he recovered the city of Jerusalem, lost to the Christians since the late twelfth century, and established a ten-year truce with the Muslim leader al-Kāmil.[43] Is the absence of an account of these events from Guillaume's *Gesta* really all that surprising though? After all, the imperial crusade had not actually involved the French king. Yet the *Gesta* does incorporate many events that do not feature Louis directly, such as Guillaume's lengthy account of Charles of Anjou's Sicilian expedition[44] and Thibaud de Champagne's crusade.[45] Some of these lengthy diversions might be accounted for by an argument that Guillaume intended his work to glorify the Capetian dynasty, or indeed the French people, as a whole.[46] Neither argument would, however, entirely account for the passages devoted to Henry III's dispute with Simon de Montfort[47] or, in particular, the lengthy account of Frederick II's condemnation at Lyon by Pope Innocent IV.[48] Given that Guillaume discussed several aspects of Frederick's life at length, why did he not give at least a brief account of his crusade? This absence is all the more striking because Guillaume's account of Louis's own crusading activities makes clear — and unexplained — reference to the terms agreed by Frederick with the Sultan.[49]

Louis's 1249 crusade was one of the chief pillars upon which his sainthood rested. The expedition provided splendid evidence of the King having undergone great suffering for his faith, an important factor in the popularization of his cult.[50] In the course of an ill-conceived invasion of Egypt, Louis's eldest brother, Robert of Artois, was killed and the King himself and his remaining brothers, Alphonse of

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[43] Wolfgang Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, vol. II: *Der Kaiser 1220–1250* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000), pp. 130–66.

[44] *Gesta*, *RHGF*, XX, 418–38.

[45] Ibid., pp. 328–30.

[46] Chazan, 'Guillaume', pp. 468–72.

[47] *Gesta*, *RHGF*, XX, 414–18.

[48] Ibid., pp. 346–52.

[49] Ibid., p. 378.

[50] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 873–75; Vauchez, *Sainteté en Occident*, p. 417.

Poitiers and Charles of Anjou, were captured and imprisoned along with the majority of the crusaders.[51] The baronial crusade that had departed for the Holy Land a decade earlier probably achieved the greatest successes of any thirteenth-century crusade. Yet these achievements had little to do with the crusaders themselves, and the expedition's leader, Thibaud, King of Navarre and Count of Champagne, failed to capitalize upon them before returning to France.[52] Guillaume's account of Thibaud's crusade is of a venture that offered little that could detract from Louis's later activities. The baronial crusade was neither an unmitigated disaster nor a laudable success: the French crusaders captured in the course of the 1239–41 expedition were quickly freed through the intervention of Richard of Cornwall, who re-established the situation much as it had been prior to their arrival in the Holy Land.[53] Frederick's crusade was a rather different affair.

In theory Frederick's expedition presented few problematic comparisons with Louis's crusade. The Emperor had departed for the East under sentence of excommunication, and papal propaganda had condemned him for it in no uncertain terms.[54] Several writers in the French milieu had been keen to take up and promote the papal line.[55] Yet as Aubri de Trois-Fontaines († ?1251–52), a Cistercian from Champagne, pointed out, Frederick's activities, and in particular the truce he had arranged which had enabled pilgrims to visit the Holy Sepulchre with much greater ease, had impressed the common people.[56] Even in the wake of Frederick's deposition there were still those in France, particularly amongst the laity, who were prepared to paint a positive portrait of the Emperor.[57] Two specific issues complicated Frederick's

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[51] Joseph R. Strayer, 'The Crusades of Louis IX', in *A History of the Crusades*, vol. II: *The Later Crusades 1189–1311*, ed. by Kenneth M. Setton, Robert L. Wolff, and Harry W. Hazard, 2nd edn (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 487–508; Richard, *Saint Louis*, pp. 159–272; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 181–208.

[52] Sidney Painter, 'The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, 1239–41', in *History of the Crusades*, vol. II, ed. by Setton, Wolff, and Hazard, pp. 463–86; Richard, *Saint Louis*, pp. 166–70.

[53] *Gesta*, *RHGF*, XX, 330.

[54] For an excellent example of the papal position, see the letter sent by Pope Gregory IX to Louis and the French episcopate (18 July 1229, Perugia) in *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi sive constitutiones, privilegia, mandata, instrumenta quae supersunt istius imperatoris et filiorum ejus. Accedunt epistolae paparum et documenta varia*, ed. by Jean L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, 6 vols in 12 parts (Paris: Plon, 1852–61), III (1852), 147–50.

[55] For example: *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin*, ed. by A. A. Beugnot in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, historiens occidentaux*, 16 vols (Paris: L'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1841–1906), II (1859), 525–26.

[56] *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. by P. Scheffer-Boichorst, MGH SS, 23 (Hannover, 1874), p. 925.

[57] The minstrel of Reims provides an excellent example: see Jones, 'Eclipse', pp. 46–50.

crusade from the point of view of a hagiographer of Louis IX. The first was Frederick's truce with the Muslims. This had been one of the most prominent grounds upon which the papacy had condemned the Emperor, yet an agreement was precisely what Louis was forced to make in order to buy his way out of captivity. A second problem concerned what had been achieved: Frederick had recovered a city, Jerusalem; Louis, in addition to being forced to hand over a large sum of money, had lost the city of Damietta.[58] To include an account of Frederick's crusade was to include the possibility of extremely unfavourable comparisons being drawn.

It is unlikely that Guillaume was alone in taking such considerations into account: the minstrel of Reims, for example, is generally favourable to Frederick, but avoided mention of his crusade. In fact, only two late thirteenth-century writers in northern France noted the imperial crusade at all. One was a Benedictine of Sens, Geoffroi de Collon († *c*. 1294), who condemned the Emperor's achievements in no uncertain terms.[59] The other was Guillaume de Nangis himself in a later work. In addition to the *Gesta*, Guillaume also prepared a universal chronicle modelled on, and incorporating amongst other texts, the work of an early twelfth-century monk of Liège, Sigebert de Gembloux.[60] Although Guillaume continued the work up until 1300, he probably completed the bulk of a first recension before Louis's canonization in 1297.[61] Unlike the *Gesta*, Guillaume's universal chronicle gave an ample account of Frederick's crusade.

It is possible that Guillaume's decision to include the imperial crusade in his universal chronicle was determined by the genre in which he now chose to work. After all, a crusade led by an emperor would appear to be a key feature of any account which purported to offer a 'universal' history of the world in terms of popes, emperors, and kings. Yet there are problems with simply accepting this explanation: in the early fourteenth century, Jean de Saint-Victor composed his own universal chronicle, the *Memoriale historiarum*, but chose to leave out Frederick's expedition.[62] Jean's decision is all the more notable because he used Guillaume's universal chronicle as one of his sources.[63] In Guillaume's case the decision to give an account of the imperial crusade

[58] Richard, *Saint Louis*, pp. 234–37.

[59] *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens rédigée vers la fin du XIII^e siècle par Geoffroy de Courlon*, ed. and trans. by Gustave Julliot (Sens: Duchemin, 1876), p. 514.

[60] Mireille Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle de Sigebert de Gembloux à Jean de Saint-Victor (XII^e–XIV^e siècle)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), pp. 383–84.

[61] The existence of two recensions was first proved by Léopold Delisle, 'Mémoire sur les ouvrages de Guillaume de Nangis', *Mémoires de l'Institut national de France Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 27.2 (1873), 287–372 (p. 297). The second also ends in 1300 and may or may not have been drafted by Guillaume himself: Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 107.

[62] Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 622.

[63] Isabelle Guyot-Bachy, *Le 'Memoriale historiarum' de Jean de Saint-Victor: Un historien et sa communauté au début du XIV^e siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 193–96.

was almost certainly decided by the content of one of his own sources — and, incidentally, another of Jean de Saint-Victor's — the Dominican Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*. Vincent's work could not be ignored: after its author's death in 1264 the *Speculum historiale* enjoyed rapid and immense success.[64] Yet Vincent's work was more than simply well known; it was strongly associated with Louis IX. By the 1330s the King was clearly considered to have been Vincent's patron,[65] but even by the third quarter of the thirteenth century Louis appears to have gained the reputation of having commissioned the work.[66] Guillaume did not, however, choose to follow Vincent blindly.

The imperial crusade was not the only incident to appear in Guillaume's universal chronicle that had been absent from the *Gesta*. Vincent had also chosen to include an account of Louis's dispute with the Bishop of Beauvais[67] and Guillaume's approach to dealing with this latter is instructive. The Dionysian considerably shortened Vincent's account. He also rewrote several aspects of his truncated version, minimizing Louis's involvement and importance, and, in particular, removed Vincent's suggestion that an interdict had been in place for many years.[68] His approach to Frederick's crusade was more dramatic. Vincent had given a very brief account of the Emperor's activities in the late 1220s.[69] Even though Vincent's version was heavy with condemnation it appears to have proved unsatisfactory to the Dionysian. Yet rather than shorten Vincent's account, Guillaume, in this case, extended it.

It is difficult to find a more damning portrait of the Emperor than that given by Guillaume in his universal chronicle. Guillaume chose to relate not an account of Frederick's crusade, but rather an account of a papal crusade in which the Emperor had participated. Pope Gregory IX (1227–41) was portrayed as the organizer and inspiration behind the venture. Gregory's instructions that the crusaders assemble at

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[64] Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 377–78.

[65] Monique Paulmier-Foucart and Serge Lusignan, 'Vincent de Beauvais et l'histoire du *Speculum Maius*', *Journal des Savants* (1990), 97–124 (p. 122).

[66] Louis appears in an illumination incorporated into the prologue of a manuscript produced at this time: Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, plate 15.

[67] *Speculum historiale*, book 30, chapter 137, in *Bibliotheca mundi, seu Speculi Maioris Vincentii Burgundi praesulis Bellovacensis, ordinis praedicatorum, theologi ac doctoris eximii*, ed. by the Benedictines of Saint-Vast d'Arras, 4 vols (Douai: Baltazaris Belleri, 1624), IV, 1279.

[68] Vincent's comment 'et ob hoc episcopatus pluribus annis sub interdicto fuit.' (*Speculum historiale*, book 30, chapter 137, ed. by the Benedictines of Saint-Vast d'Arras, IV, 1279) was rendered '[. . .] Milo, ejusdem civitatis episcopus [et comes], episcopatum supposuit interdicto.' *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300 avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368*, ed. by Hercule Géraud, 2 vols (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1843–44) [henceforth *Chronique*], I (1843), 185.

[69] *Speculum historiale*, book 30, chapter 129, ed. by the Benedictines of Saint-Vast d'Arras, IV, 1277.

Brindisi are carefully highlighted, twice, and the Pope is thereby ascribed the predominant, indeed the only, organizational role in the crusade.[70] In addition, Guillaume emphasized that Frederick had taken part only with extreme reluctance and had sought to sabotage the venture at every opportunity. Guillaume emphasized that it was necessary for the Pope to order Frederick to set out[71] and the Emperor fared little better when he did eventually get under way.

In depicting Frederick as a crusader Guillaume's use of language, as much as his selective presentation, conveys the impression of a secretive, disobedient, and deeply untrustworthy man.[72] Frederick earned excommunication by secretly deserting the crusade.[73] His eventual arrival in the Holy Land only reinforced the point. Still excommunicate, Frederick, said to be again acting secretly because he was aware the Pope had refused to grant him absolution, had himself crowned in Jerusalem. He then left the Holy Sepulchre in the hands of the Saracens and begged the Sultan for a ten-year truce.[74] Not content with these despicable failings, and having wrecked papal plans, the Emperor returned to southern Italy where he invaded the lands of the Pope, the Hospitallers, and the Templars.[75] It would have been difficult to paint a blacker picture.

Erasing embarrassing episodes or rewriting others to avoid difficult comparisons might make Louis appear a better and more successful king and crusader than he had been in reality; yet it did not make him a saint. His biographer still faced the problem of establishing Louis's exemplary uniqueness. The most direct method of proving this was to recount Louis's miracles.[76] So important was this theme that Jean de Vignay felt the need to insert an additional chapter into his translation because he considered his sources did not do the topic adequate justice.[77] The method favoured by Louis's earliest hagiographers had been to recount, in particular, the indications of Louis's sanctity apparent in his own lifetime, his humble lifestyle and commitment to justice. Guillaume drew heavily upon Geoffroi de Beaulieu's account of these matters in compiling the *Gesta*. A further method was to draw comparisons

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[70] *Chronique*, I, 178, 180.

[71] Ibid., p. 178.

[72] Attention was first drawn to the language employed here by Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 352.

[73] '[. . .] imperator furtive ab eis per galeas recedens, Brundusium est reversus.': *Chronique*, I, 180.

[74] 'Quod agnoscens imperator, prius tamen, ut fertur, in Jerusalem coronatus, et ad custodiam templi Domini Sarracenis dimissis, ac cum Soldano usque ad decem annos Christianitati trebis imploratis': ibid., p. 184.

[75] Ibid., p. 184.

[76] On the nature of these, see Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 844–53.

[77] 'c'est assavoir ledit frère Vincent et Primat parlent trop poy en leur traitié des meurs esperituèles de celi très honnourable saint': *Chronique de Primat*, ed. by de Wailly, Delisle, and Jourdain, in *RHGF*, XXIII, 63.

between Louis's actions and motivations and those of more ordinary men. It was, for example, this method that Louis's crusading companion Joinville chose to adopt when he drew attention to the startled reaction of Louis's councillors to the King's decision to make peace with the English king Henry III.[78] Guillaume de Nangis sought to establish Louis's uniqueness, and thus the King's credentials for sainthood, through a more radical comparison, that of a saint-king with his antithesis. He found the latter in Frederick II.[79]

An important element in this comparison was the emphasis Guillaume placed upon Frederick's close relations with the Muslims. If Frederick's treaty with al-Kāmil was inconvenient in light of Louis's own treaty this by no means meant that Frederick's relations with the Muslims were to be forgotten. Quite the opposite was true. In the universal chronicle these relations were a prominent feature of Guillaume's account of Frederick's crusade. Gregory IX was said to have refused Frederick absolution upon his arrival in the Holy Land because of his friendly dealings with the Saracens.[80] These relations were also a prominent feature of the *Gesta*. They were highlighted particularly by Guillaume's decision to cite at length the bull in which Innocent IV deposed the Emperor. This included charges that Frederick had enjoyed friendly relations with the Saracens, that he had imitated their way of life, and that he had allowed the name of Muhammad to be pronounced in the Holy Sepulchre.[81]

As Frederick's good relations with the Muslims of the Near East came to the fore in Guillaume's work, his rather more turbulent ones with those of Sicily receded into the background. An earlier generation of French writers, including Aubri de Trois-Fontaines[82] and Philippe Mousket,[83] had been well aware that Frederick had violently suppressed rebellions of Sicilian Muslims and forcibly deported the population to Lucera.[84] Guillaume reduced these events to the simple statement that Frederick

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[78] *Livre des saintes paroles*, ed. by Monfrin, chapter 65, p. 32; chapters 678–79, p. 338.

[79] Le Goff similarly believed that Guillaume sought to establish an antithesis for Louis, but proposed that the Dionysian considered the Old Man of the Mountain to be *l'anti-bon roi, l'anti-Saint Louis*. Frederick, on the other hand, *sans être à proprement parler mauvais, est 'douteux'*: Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 361.

[80] 'Sed Papa sciens ipsum detestabili amicitia conjunctum fuisse Sarracenis, et compositionem Christianitati damnosam iniisse cum Soldano, non acquievit [. . .]': *Chronique*, I, 184.

[81] *Gesta*, *RHGF*, XX, 350–52. Compare with: *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum, 1198–1272*, ed. by Ludwig Weiland, MGH Constitutiones, 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1896), no. 400, pp. 511–12 (17 July 1245, Lyon).

[82] *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. by Scheffer-Boichorst, pp. 894, 916.

[83] *Ex Philippi Mousket Historia Regum Francorum*, ed. by A. Tobler, MGH SS, 26 (Hannover, 1882), p. 767, lines 23333–54. Philippe also noted Frederick's close relations with the Saracens: *Fragment de la chronique rimée de Philippe Mousket*, ed. by de Wailly and Delisle, in *RHGF*, XXII, 53, lines 28631–33.

[84] D. Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor*, rev. edn (London: Pimlico, 1992), pp. 144–48; Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, pp. 66–74.

had assembled the Saracens all in one place and made them tributaries, although even these remarks were absent from the first recension of the universal chronicle.[85]

The stress placed upon Frederick's good relations with the Muslims is an element in the wider comparison that Guillaume sought to draw between the Emperor and Louis IX. Possibly the most striking element of this comparison occurs in the *Gesta*, where a description of the events that led up to Louis's taking of the cross is juxtaposed with Frederick's deposition, and follows on directly from comments concerning Pope Innocent IV's flight from the tyranny of the Roman emperor.[86] This juxtaposition has not gone unnoticed by historians,[87] although the fact that it seems to have been taken up by Guillaume, rather than invented by him, and was widespread in works written in the French kingdom has not been remarked upon.[88] Guillaume followed this theme in his universal chronicle, modifying the account of these events given in the *Speculum historiale* to sandwich Frederick's deposition unambiguously between Louis's taking of the cross, a summary of affairs in the Holy Land, and the preaching of the French king's crusade.[89] Yet what separates Guillaume from Vincent and the many others who juxtaposed these events is the complexity of the comparison the Dionysian sought to create.

Mireille Chazan has suggested that in composing his universal chronicle, Guillaume sought to juxtapose Louis's and Frederick's actions on a near year-by-year basis. His intention, in her view, was thereby to highlight Louis's 'imperial' qualities and to demonstrate that after Frederick's deposition the French king came to occupy the position of de facto emperor of Christendom.[90] Chazan almost certainly goes too far in suggesting that Guillaume intended to draw a direct comparison between specific events other than Louis's crusade and Frederick's deposition. There is, for example, little indication that Guillaume sought to link Frederick's excommunication and alliance with the Sultan to Louis's foundation of Royaumont, even though both occurred at approximately the same time.[91] Guillaume certainly intended that Frederick and Louis were to be compared, but it was their opposed attitudes that he sought to juxtapose more frequently than their specific actions. Moreover, Chazan's explanation of why Guillaume sought to introduce this juxtaposition seems unlikely. This is

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[85] *Chronique*, I, 178–79. Géraud was unaware of the distinction between recensions. The first is identifiable in his edition as material pertaining to MS 10298-6 (now BN, MS *français* 5703).

[86] *Gesta*, *RHGF*, XX, 344–52.

[87] Chazan, 'Guillaume', p. 476.

[88] Jones, 'Eclipse', pp. 76–78.

[89] *Chronique*, I, 197–99. Compare with *Speculum historiale*, book 30, chapter 152, ed. by the Benedictines of Saint-Vast d'Arras, IV, 1285; book 31, chapter 1, ibid., p. 1286.

[90] Chazan, 'Guillaume', pp. 476–77.

[91] Compare with ibid., p. 476.

in large part because the concept appeared not only in Guillaume's universal chronicle, but also in the *Gesta*.

Despite Chazan's assertions to the contrary, the *Gesta* lacks the imperial focus inherent in a universal chronicle founded on the work of Sigebert de Gembloux. The description of Louis as *rex christianissimus*, for example, which Chazan suggests Guillaume employed to highlight the King's 'imperial' status,[92] was by no means exclusively associated with the Empire and its ruler.[93] The same may be said of the sun-king imagery, which Guillaume borrowed directly from Geoffroi de Beaulieu's hagiography.[94] Chazan suggests we should consider the *résonances supplémentaires* of this imagery.[95] Yet imperial associations are clearly absent from Guillaume's source, and are, in any case, decidedly secondary to the biblical imagery intended to depict Louis as a Christ-like figure. The alterations Guillaume made, which, as Chazan noted, incorporated the French kingdom into Geoffroi's imagery,[96] do little to alter this. There is in fact little in the *Gesta* as a whole to suggest that Guillaume sought to establish Louis in an imperial context, and Chazan's argument relies upon interpreting the text in the light of assumptions about the role Guillaume assigned to Louis in his universal chronicle.

The *Gesta* is a work with Louis at its centre. Although it quickly became associated with one of Guillaume's later works, a life of Philip III le Hardi, there is clear evidence that the *Gesta Ludovici* originally circulated as an independent work.[97] Guillaume's decision to produce a self-contained *vita* at this time, as opposed to the sort of continuing chronicle that Primat appears to have been engaged in, has not been regarded as a decision worthy of particular remark. Despite Chazan's assertion that Guillaume was engaged in continuing a task associated with the Saint-Denis scriptorium, that of producing 'reign by reign' histories,[98] there was in fact a considerable lull in the production of such works at the abbey after the efforts of the monk Rigord († *c*. 1210) to catalogue Philip Augustus's reign. Although Primat had translated many of the abbey's Latin chronicles into French, the monks did not begin to compile a biography of Philip Augustus's successor, Louis VIII, until early in

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[92] Ibid., pp. 474–75.

[93] Jacques Krynen, '*Rex Christianissimus*: A Medieval Theme at the Roots of French Absolutism', *History and Anthropology*, 4 (1989), 79–96 (p. 81); Jacques Krynen, *L'Empire du roi: Idées et croyances politiques en France XIII^e–XV^e siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1993), pp. 345–46. Compare with Chazan, 'Guillaume', pp. 466–68.

[94] Compare Guillaume's comments in the *Gesta* (*RHGF*, XX, 400) with *Vita et sancta conversatio piae memoriae Ludovici quondam regis Francorum*, *RHGF*, XX, 13.

[95] Chazan, 'Guillaume', p. 474.

[96] Ibid., p. 472.

[97] Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 101, n. 213.

[98] Chazan, 'Guillaume', p. 463.

Philip IV's reign, that is after Guillaume wrote his life of Louis IX.[99] It seems permissible to suggest that Guillaume chose to compile Louis's life in the manner he did — and at the time he did so — in order, specifically, to support the King's candidature for canonization. It seems probable that Guillaume's juxtaposition of Louis and Frederick was imported from the *Gesta* into his later universal chronicle and, assuming that this was the case, likely that his purpose in employing the technique was the same in both. What then did this juxtaposition demonstrate?

Even before Louis's death, the last Staufer emperor had been portrayed in the French milieu, particularly by clerical authors, as an incorrigible enemy of the Church.[100] This trend continued in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. It appeared prominently, for example, in the work of Geoffroi de Collon, whose comments on Frederick's reign form, essentially, an extended account of the Emperor's conflict with the papacy, a conflict that began almost as soon as Frederick received his crown.[101] The Dominican Bernard Gui († 30 December 1331), himself closely associated with the papacy,[102] adopted a similar tone in his account of the reopening of the papal-imperial dispute at the beginning of Innocent IV's pontificate.[103] Guillaume wove a new thread into this pattern: Frederick became not only the enemy of the Church, but the active opponent of its defender. For Guillaume, the Emperor was more than simply one more enemy amongst the many that Louis had been forced to confront. By building upon the existing tendency to view Frederick as a persecutor of the Church, Guillaume was able to create a unique role for Louis.[104] Innocent's shocked reaction to the (false) news of Louis's death in 1244 was justified, according to Guillaume, by the fact that Louis had been, and was, the defender of the Church in the time of the tempest.[105]

One consequence of Guillaume's approach was the removal of any suggestion of positive Capetian-Staufer relations.[106] A second influenced Guillaume's portrayal of

[99] Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 97.

[100] Jones, 'Eclipse', pp. 33–44.

[101] *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, ed. and trans. by Julliot, pp. 506, 512–20.

[102] Bernard Guenée, *Entre l'Église et l'État, quatre vies de prélats français à la fin du moyen âge (XIII^e–XV^e siècle)* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987), pp. 49–85.

[103] *E Floribus chronicorum seu Catalogo Romanorum pontificum, necnon e Chronico regum Francorum, auctore Bernardo Guidonis, episcopo Lodovensi*, ed. by J. D. Guigniaut and Natalis de Wailly, in *RHGF*, XXI (1855), 696.

[104] Compare with Chazan, *L'Empire*, 622.

[105] *Gesta*, *RHGF*, XX, 344.

[106] Although Guillaume chose to retain comments taken from one of his sources — the chronicle prepared by Philip Augustus's chaplain Guillaume le Breton († *c*. 1225) — which suggested that Frederick had been established as emperor through the support of the Capetians, this did little to paint Frederick in a better light: the Emperor's iniquity appeared all the worse because he had turned against those who had first helped him. *Chronique*, I, 132, 138.

Louis's role as an arbiter. The King's efforts to arbitrate between princes were highlighted by hagiographers, such as Joinville[107] and Guillaume de Saint-Pathus,[108] in order to illustrate the King's exceptional character. Guillaume de Nangis himself noted these efforts even when they ended in failure, as was the case when Louis sought to intervene in the dispute between Henry III and Simon de Montfort.[109] It is, therefore, all the more notable that the Dionysian passed over in absolute silence Louis's attempts to arbitrate the most spectacular dispute of the age, Frederick's quarrel with Pope Innocent IV. Louis's efforts were not cloaked in secrecy: they were well documented in both papal[110] and imperial correspondence,[111] and noted by contemporary chroniclers such as Aubri de Trois-Fontaines.[112] They were also referred to in a later, but widely circulated work, the *Récits* of the minstrel of Reims, which highlighted Frederick's willingness to abide by the French king's decision if Innocent were to allow Louis to arbitrate.[113] The fact that Guillaume clearly had access to materials in the royal archives, such as the letters exchanged between Frederick and Louis in 1241,[114] further strengthens the argument that the absence of references to the King's efforts to negotiate between Pope and Emperor was almost certainly the product of a conscious decision.[115]

Guillaume intended to depict Frederick as Louis's enemy. Yet he was not to be an enemy in the same way that Henry III or the rebellious French barons were considered to be the King's enemies. Philippe Mousket had strongly condemned Frederick for his rumoured involvement in the alliance formed against Louis in the early 1240s

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[107] *Livre des saintes paroles*, ed. by Monfrin, chapters 680–84, pp. 338–42.

[108] *Vie de saint Louis par Guillaume de Saint-Pathus*, chapter 9, ed. by Delaborde, pp. 73–74.

[109] *Gesta*, *RHGF*, XX, 414–16.

[110] *Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificium romanorum selectae*, ed. by G. H. Pertz and C. Rodenberg, MGH Saec. XIII, 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1887), no. 257, p. 192 (5 November 1246, Lyon); *Historia diplomatica*, ed. by Huillard-Bréholles, VI.2 (1861), 641 (*c*. July 1248), 643–44 (August 1248).

[111] *Historia diplomatica*, ed. by Huillard-Bréholles, VI.1 (1860), 472–74 (end of November 1246); ibid., VI.2, 644–46 (August 1248), 710–13 (March/April 1249).

[112] *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. by Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 944. Louis's efforts were also known to Matthew Paris: *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora*, ed. by Henry R. Luard, 7 vols (London: Rolls Series, 1872–83), V (1880), 22–23.

[113] *Récits*, chapter 23, ed. by de Wailly, p. 126.

[114] *Gesta*, *RHGF*, XX, 332.

[115] One letter that Guillaume might have remarked upon in connection with Louis's efforts to arbitrate the papal-imperial dispute, had he chosen to do so, was that sent by Frederick to Louis, *carissimo fratri suo*, at the end of November 1246: *Historia diplomatica*, ed. by Huillard-Bréholles, VI.1, 472–74.

by the English king, the Count of Toulouse, and Hugues de Lusignan.[116] Guillaume, in contrast, chose to pass silently over Frederick's part in these events.[117] It is unlikely that this omission was a mere oversight. Absent from the *Gesta* or the universal chronicle is any suggestion that Frederick's opposition to Louis was linked to territorial or feudal disputes. The Emperor's opposition to Louis was portrayed as being of a different order entirely.

In 1237 Frederick had sought to convoke a meeting of Christian princes. Under Guillaume's pen this became an event staged with a single purpose, doing Louis harm.[118] Sommerlechner was correct to suggest that Guillaume's depiction of contact between Frederick and Louis was significant and the author's intention to create a contrast between them.[119] As Chazan has made clear, Guillaume was at pains to point out that it was only divine intervention which had saved Louis from the evil machinations of the Emperor.[120] This episode illustrates the nature of the relationship Guillaume was seeking to depict and the level upon which the Emperor and the King were opposed: it was no mere secular conflict, but one in which God's servant, Louis, was confronted by his malevolent opponent, Frederick. The confrontation between King and Emperor reached its apogee in Guillaume's version of the events of 1241.

Pope Gregory IX had intended to resolve his long-running dispute with the Emperor by summoning a council of bishops to meet in Rome. Recognizing that condemnation by a council would carry considerably more weight than condemnation by the Pope alone, Frederick sought to prevent this council from meeting. In May 1241 he was able, with the assistance of a Pisan fleet, to capture a large number of the council's would-be attendees, including the English and French legates.[121] The capture of the Archbishop of Rouen and the Abbot of Fécamp sparked particular interest amongst Norman writers.[122] At the same time, the deaths of several clerics in

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[116] *Fragment de la chronique rimée de Philippe Mousket*, *RHGF*, XXII, 76, lines 30851–52; 78, lines 30981–84. For an account of the 1242–43 war: Ch. Bémont, 'La campagne de Poitou 1242–1243: Taillebourg et Saintes', *Annales du Midi*, 5 (1893), 289–314; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 149–57.

[117] *Gesta*, *RHGF*, XX, 334–40; *Chronique*, I, 194–95.

[118] 'Imperator quidem regem paucos secum ducere milites sperabat, quod et toto animo affectabat, eo quod, ut a pluribus dicebatur, quemadmodum malitiosus ac seductor, in regem Franciae et in regnum machinari satagebat': *Gesta*, *RHGF*, XX, 324–26; *Chronique*, I, 190. Guillaume dated the proposed meeting to 1238.

[119] Sommerlechner, *Stupor Mundi?*, pp. 114, 115.

[120] Chazan, 'Guillaume', p. 464.

[121] Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, p. 501.

[122] *E Chronico Normanniae ab anno 1169 ad annum 1259, sive potius 1272*, ed. by de Wailly, Delisle, and Jourdain, in *RHGF*, XXIII, 213; *E Chronico Rotomagensi*, ed. by de Wailly, Delisle, and Jourdain, in *RHGF*, XXIII, 338; *E Chronicis Lirensis monasterii*, ed. by de Wailly, Delisle, and Jourdain, in *RHGF*, XXIII, 468.

the attack and the imprisonment of the remainder in Frederick's Sicilian kingdom drew considerable attention across the breadth of the French kingdom and the surrounding French-speaking world: the incident elicited comment from Hainaut[123] and Tournai[124] in the north, to Toulouse[125] and the Limousin[126] in the south, and enjoyed particular longevity.[127] For the majority the case was a straightforward one of piracy and imprisonment; Guillaume added an additional element to these charged events, Louis IX.[128]

The Dionysian approach is strikingly different from that adopted by, for example, the early fourteenth-century papal apologist Bernard Gui.[129] Gui's account shares its focus with the version that appears in Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*:[130] the primary interest of both Vincent and Bernard was in the capture of the legates, and Louis's involvement is entirely absent. Gui did not even think it worth mentioning that many of the captured prelates were French. Guillaume's interpretation of events was a radical departure from that of Gui, Vincent, and other writers in the French milieu. It is notable that in compiling his universal chronicle Guillaume chose to retain the essence of the account he gave in the *Gesta* rather than adopt Vincent's version. In Guillaume's hands the dispute became not simply an example of Frederick's persecution of the Church, but essentially a confrontation between the French king, as its defender, and Frederick, as its persecutor. The capture of the prelates was simply a prelude to this altercation.

The *Gesta* recounts Louis's confrontation with Frederick through a series of increasingly heated letters exchanged between King and Emperor. Frederick's response to Louis's request that he free the prelates was taken from a genuine imperial letter,[131] but it was truncated by Guillaume to its final rhetorical flourish,

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[123] *Extraits de la Chronique attribuée à Baudoin d'Avesnes, fils de la comtesse Marguerite de Flandre*, ed. by Guigniaut and de Wailly, in *RHGF*, XXI, 163. Like Guillaume, the author of this work drew upon Primat's chronicle up to 1277: Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, pp. 86–87.

[124] *Fragment de la chronique rimée de Philippe Mousket*, *RHGF*, XXII, 78, lines 31003–08.

[125] *Guillaume de Puylaurens, Chronique (1145–1275) Chronica Magistri Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii*, ed. and trans. by Jean Duvernoy (Toulouse: Pérégrinateur, 1996), p. 170.

[126] *Ex notis Lemovicensibus*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS, 26, p. 436. Mistakenly dated to 1238.

[127] For example: *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, ed. and trans. by Julliot, p. 512.

[128] *Gesta*, *RHGF*, XX, 330–32; *Chronique*, I, 192–94.

[129] *E Floribus chronicorum*, *RHGF*, XXI, 694–95.

[130] *Speculum historiale*, book 30, chapter 138, ed. by the Benedictines of Saint-Vast d'Arras, IV, 1280.

[131] *Historia diplomatica*, ed. by Huillard-Bréholles, VI.1, 1–3 (September 1241).

giving the impression of arrogance, obstinacy, and aggression on Frederick's part.[132] Louis, upon receiving this, and greatly surprised, responded with a long and threatening reply. Passing silently over the fact that it was two years before some of the most important prelates, including James, the Cardinal-Bishop of Palestrina, were actually freed, Guillaume recorded simply that Frederick met Louis's request.[133] Frederick's condemnation at Lyon was important to Guillaume but it remained essentially the aftermath to this epic confrontation.

It may be the case, as Chazan suggested, that one of Guillaume's intentions was to demonstrate that the Staufer dynasty as a whole were enemies of the Capetians in order to underline solidarity between the kingdoms of France and Naples, in the wake of Charles of Anjou's efforts to displace Frederick's heirs.[134] Yet this alone does not account for the complexity inherent in Guillaume's attempts to depict Frederick as Louis's antithesis. Guillaume intended to draw more than a simple comparison between Louis and Frederick; he sought to depict a specific relationship between the King and the Emperor. This relationship was one in which Louis acted as the ultimate defender and protector of the Church and Frederick became its definitive persecutor, a saint-king and his nemesis. By highlighting Frederick's relations with the Muslims and inserting Louis into the Emperor's dispute with the papacy Guillaume was able to fashion a portrait which not only contrasted Frederick's and Louis's attitudes towards the Church but presented one as its persecutor and the other as its defender. By exaggerating Frederick's villainy, Guillaume created an argument for the unique saintliness of his opponent. For Guillaume, Louis's claims to sanctity were founded, at least in part, upon the exceptional role he had taken in the defence of the Church. At least before 1297, therefore, the Emperor had an important role to play in the Dionysian 'case' for Louis's canonization. Guillaume's model enjoyed a mixed reception, not least within the walls of his own abbey.

The complexity of the Dionysian chronicle tradition is often underestimated: Guillaume's work, a core component in this tradition, appears to have undergone multiple transformations. Yet common to most was a tendency to unravel the original compiler's carefully constructed comparison. The changes introduced into the second recension of the universal chronicle did little to alter Frederick's role, but those who first translated the *Gesta* into French cut out much of Guillaume's account of Frederick's final condemnation at Lyon, including lengthy summaries of his treatment of the clerics in 1241 and of his dealings with the Saracens.[135] This version

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[132] 'Non miretur Regia Celsitudo, si praelatos Franciae in angusto Caesar tenet Augustus, qui ad Caesaris angustias trahebantur': *Gesta*, *RHGF*, XX, 332. This phrase was absent from the first recension of the universal chronicle: *Chronique*, I, 193.

[133] *Gesta*, *RHGF*, XX, 332. Concerning James's fate, see Abulafia, *Frederick II*, pp. 350–54.

[134] Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 621–22.

[135] *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, ed. by Daunou and Naudet, in *RHGF*, XX, 351.

appears to have enjoyed at least some independent circulation in the early fourteenth century, and at least one copy came into the possession of a family of knightly status.[136] Guillaume's model was diluted further by those, such as the layman and active participant in Philip IV's Flemish wars, Guillaume Guiart, who drew upon Saint-Denis's resources but pursued a very different agenda to that of the monks.[137]

The success of Guillaume's portrait of Louis's relationship with Frederick was undoubtedly limited by the changing political situation of the early fourteenth century, and in particular the potentially awkward comparisons that readers might draw in the aftermath of Philip the Fair's dispute with Boniface VIII. Had not Philip imprisoned the Bishop of Pamiers, Bernard Saisset, and entered into open breach with the Pope? Had not Philip also been threatened with chastisement, excommunication, and deposition?[138] It is in light of these events that we should, perhaps, understand the decision to remove two details in particular from Guillaume's work: Frederick's imprisonment of the clerics and the extensive account Guillaume gave of the Emperor's condemnation by the Pope.

A more fundamental check upon the success of Guillaume's model was almost certainly the triumph of a rather different image of *Saint* Louis. Guillaume's model of Louis as a defender of the Church was one of several competing representations. It coexisted with, for example, a model of the King as a crusader-martyr, an image enthusiastically endorsed by Joinville, but which found little favour with the Church.[139] It was, instead, the model of the 'humble' Louis, an image of the King as a mendicant brother favoured and promoted by the Dominicans and Franciscans through hagiographies and panegyrical sermons,[140] that was to prevail.

While Guillaume's model was not successful, it does suggest that there are problems inherent in straitjacketing medieval texts too tightly within modern genre classifications. It also underlines that the tendency, derived from nineteenth-century historiography, to prefer sources that offer original 'facts' or 'accurate' accounts has often led historians to miss the point of *why* an author chose to write or compile a text in the 'inaccurate' and 'incomplete' way that he did. It is necessary to recognize that what appears novel to the modern academic is, as Guenée emphasized, of much less importance than the appreciation of the contemporary concerns that shaped the use and presentation of material.[141] Guillaume de Nangis's Latin works were written

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[136] Delisle, 'Mémoire', p. 296.

[137] For Guiart's claim that he used Dionysian resources, see *La branche des royaus lingnages, par Guillaume Guiart*, ed. by de Wailly and Delisle, in *RHGF*, XXII, 173, lines 40–46.

[138] Boase, *Boniface VIII*, pp. 297–351; Strayer, *Reign of Philip the Fair*, pp. 260–79; Favier, *Philippe Le Bel*, pp. 318–28, 343–93; Paravicini Bagliani, *Boniface VIII*, pp. 299–369.

[139] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 836, 839, 885.

[140] Henri-François Delaborde, 'Une oeuvre nouvelle de Guillaume de Saint-Pathus', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 63 (1902), 263–88.

[141] Guenée, 'L'historien', pp. 331–33.

in the context of intense efforts to obtain Louis IX's canonization and, like the works of the Dominican hagiographers, were probably intended to convince the ecclesiastical authorities of Louis's saintly qualities. Frederick II did not come to occupy a central role in Guillaume's works through any intrinsic Dionysian interest in the by then extinct Staufer dynasty. Frederick — or rather a certain representation of Frederick, that of the uncompromising opponent of the papacy — offered an exceptional opportunity to illustrate how a king, through his actions and divine favour, could be elevated to sainthood.

The Electors and Imperial Rule at the End of the Fifteenth Century

HENRY J. COHN

In a striking example of the convergence of image and reality, two starkly contrasting later medieval modes of representing visually the location of power in the empire were combined into a single design at the end of the fifteenth century. Both types of representation appeared initially in manuscripts and on public buildings, then later on in woodcuts and other media. The one approach focused on the leading role of the electors, the second on the other estates. They reflected divergent views among the rulers of Germany on the exercise of political authority. The electors on many occasions conceived their role as far more than to elect and crown an Emperor or King of the Romans, but rather to share in the government of the empire. By contrast the emperors — and their views were echoed by some of the ecclesiastical and secular princes who were not electors — saw the empire as essentially a monarchy with an autocratic head. For them, in so far as authority was shared at all by the ruler with any others, it was with the whole corpus of the estates, in which the electors were but one group among several. During the fifteenth century the political competition between different elements in the empire was accompanied by the rivalry between alternative images of the constitution displayed in an expanding range of media. In the 1490s, just when the electors appeared about to achieve their objectives in the newly strengthened imperial diet, the two forms of representation were in some notable instances combined into one. Yet these advances proved to be a false dawn for the electors, as developments of the next decades would affirm the previous rise of the non-electoral princes alongside the electors as the main counterweight in the diets to emperors who also still maintained a considerable degree of authority.

The visual representations embracing all the estates were known as *Quaternionen* because four members of each of (usually) ten 'estates' were depicted. In these images the seven electors as a separate group were simply left out of the picture. Although earlier antecedents for this view of the political scene may have gone back to the reign of Charles IV (1347–78), the first known example of *Quaternionen* was

devised in 1414/15 by Emperor Sigismund (1410–36) as a fresco for the *Kaisersaal* (imperial hall) in the *Römer* (town hall) at Frankfurt am Main. Probably undertaken in connection with Sigismund's protectorship over the Council of Constance, it showed four named members each of the dukes, margraves, landgraves, burgraves, counts, lords, knights, (imperial) towns, villages, and peasants; curiously, as in all later versions, the named 'villages' and 'peasants' were actually four more towns, all but three of the eight again imperial cities. The fifteenth-century understanding of this configuration was that the empire was not based solely on royal rule, but on the co-operation of all estates. By the middle of the century the estates in the *Quaternionen* were described in the writings of Felix Hemmerlin (*Tractatus de nobilitate et rusticitate*, 1444) and Peter von Andlau (*Libellus de Caesarea monarchia*, 1460) as the *bases imperii* or *columnae imperii* (foundations or columns of the empire), phrases similar to those applied in the Golden Bull (and earlier) to the electors. The *Quaternionen* figure as either the building structure or the body of the empire and from about 1470 were shown within the framework of an imperial eagle.[1] By the sixteenth century, the multiplication of such images throughout the decorative arts meant that they largely lost whatever political resonance they may have conveyed.

Notwithstanding their neglect in the *Quaternionen*, the electors had played a commanding role in imperial politics, especially since the 1390s. Sigismund may have wished to develop the new image of *Quaternionen* as a counter to that of the electors which had appeared widely since the beginning of the fourteenth century. All seven electors are first represented together on a royal seal of 1298. There were eight manuscript illustrations in the *Sachsenspiegel* and elsewhere before the Golden Bull of 1356, many more afterwards. A notarial report from the diet of 1338 at Koblenz described the Emperor as judge, the electors as jurors, and other participants present in person (including the King of England and several important German princes) as the crowd in a court.[2] Here the elevated role of the electors is conveyed in a narrative by someone close to the centre of political events. From the fourteenth century

[1] Eduard Ziehen, 'Das Heilige Römische Reich in seinen Gliedern: Sinnbilder des körperschaftlichen Reichsgedankens 1400–1800', *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst*, 48 (1962), 5–44 (pp. 5–13); E. Schubert, 'Die Quaternionen: Entstehung, Sinngehalt und Folgen einer spätmittelalterlichen Deutung der Reichsverfassung', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 20 (1993), 1–63 (pp. 1–3, 6–7, 11, 37, 50–51, 54–58); Helmut G. Walther, 'Gelehrtes Recht, Stadt und Reich in der politischen Theorie des Basler Kanonisten Peter von Andlau', in *Lebenslehren und Weltentwürfe im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, ed. by Heinrich Boockmann and others, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, 3. Folge, 179 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1989), pp. 77–111 (pp. 106–07); Peter Putzer, 'Kaiser und Reich als ein Motiv bildhafter Darstellung: Das Kurfürstenkolleg zwischen Verfassungsgeschichte und Kunstgewerbe', *Forschungen zur Rechtsarchäologie und rechtlichen Volkskunde*, 16 (1996), 11–50 (pp. 30–33).

[2] Marie-Luise Heckmann, *Stellvertreter, Mit- und Ersatzherrscher: Regenten, Generalstatthalter, Kurfürsten, und Reichsvikare in Regnum und Imperium vom 13. bis zum frühen 15. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols (Warendorf: Fahlbusch, 2001), II, 489.

onwards town halls, guild houses, and market fountains became the most favoured public sites for such representations, especially in those ecclesiastical principalities and imperial cities wishing to emphasize their imperial links and loyalties. A moot question is whether the depiction of the electors alongside the emperor was merely intended to, and had the effect of, emphasizing the legitimacy of the elected emperor — in much the same way as genealogies might buttress that of hereditary monarchs — or whether, as Armin Wolf and Peter Putzer contend, it also conveyed the idea of a 'collegiate head of state', or at least something akin to co-rule by the electors.[3]

The grandeur and pre-eminence of the electors is conveyed on the *Schöner Brunnen*, the fountain in Nuremberg's marketplace (*c*. 1390), where they are paired with nine ancient heroes and keep company with eight ancient philosophers, four evangelists, and four Church Fathers. In the first half of the fifteenth century their companions are prophets and heroes on Bremen's town hall façade and saints and nobles at Esslingen town hall, whereas they appear alone in that of Ulm.[4] Their positioning in relation to the emperor became regularized after the Golden Bull laid down the ceremonial order for the elections, coronations, processions, and festivities at court, and for diets and other occasions for giving counsel which were later recorded in illustrations. The latter portrayed to the emperor's right side the three ecclesiastical electors in order of seniority, nearest Mainz, then Cologne, then Trier. To the ruler's left came first Bohemia, then the Palatinate, Saxony, and Brandenburg, except that Bohemia might be omitted at such times — quite numerous — as its king had not participated in an election. The emperor was usually shown seated, the electors seated or standing, but on the same plane as the emperor. The individual electors were identified by some combination of different signs, such as distinctive headgear or their coats of arms. They either carried their insignia of office or raised one hand, both of which were symbols capable of signifying something more than the acts of electing and crowning an emperor. The seals of the archbishops stood for the royal chanceries of Germany, Italy, and Burgundy. The special position of the King of Bohemia was often recognized by his carrying just the insignia of his own kingdom rather than the cup of his office of hereditary cupbearer of the empire, whereas the elector palatine held aloft the plates or cloths of the hereditary steward, Saxony the sword of the hereditary marshal, and Brandenburg the keys of the hereditary treasurer. By the fifteenth century their offices became dissociated from the royal court at which the monarch was physically present

[3] Armin Wolf, 'Von den Königswählern zum Kurfürstenkolleg: Bilddenkmale als unerkannte Dokumente der Verfassungsgeschichte', in *Wahlen und Wählen im Mittelalter*, ed. by Reinhard Schneider and Harald Zimmermann, Vorträge und Forschungen, 37 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1990), pp. 15–78 (pp. 76–78); Peter Putzer, 'Kaiser und Reich am Bremer Rathaus: Bemerkungen zu den bildlichen Darstellungen von Kaiser und Kurfürsten aus der Sicht der Rechtsgeschichte', *Bremisches Jahrbuch*, 76 (1997), 52–82 (pp. 57–59).

[4] Paul Hoffmann, *Die bildlichen Darstellungen des Kurfürstenkollegiums von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Heiligen Römischen Reiches (13.–18. Jahrhundert)* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1982), p. 109; Putzer, 'Kurfürstenkolleg', pp. 26–27.

and were the mark rather of an imperial responsibility at events like coronations.[5] Although with time the offices of the lay electors became even more honorific than before and the work was done by other hereditary incumbents who held their posts as fiefs from the electors, the insignia could still strongly convey the notion that the electors participated in the government of the empire. In ceremonies of investiture with their fiefs, the electors handed the emperor their insignia of office and then received them back, going to take their place on the *Lehnsstuhl* alongside him.[6]

In earlier years the alternative representation to the electors with their insignia shows their hands raised in the act of election or with two fingers giving the oath of loyalty, but with the arrival of woodcuts in the second half of the fifteenth century they are more often shown with hands pointing in different directions, indeed — it might be said — gesticulating. While it would be unwise to place too much reliance on interpreting the intentions behind fine distinctions between different woodcut designs, since motifs were often copied from one context to another, nevertheless these hand gestures could well have conveyed to readers an impression of speech other than that associated with voting or swearing an oath of allegiance. Medieval illustrations showing several persons with gesturing hands often depict speeches given consecutively over a period of time.[7] Hand signs are used to show Maximilian I himself conversing with some of his electors in a woodcut of all of them at his election as king in 1486 and in an illustration of an act of feudal investiture of 1493.[8] Several printed works at the end of the fifteenth century convey acts of counsel by means of gesturing hands: a heathen king is shown taking advice from his nobles in the story of Solomon and Salome.[9] The advisory role of the electors emerges not just from the use of insignia and hand gestures in representational works, but from the growing

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[5] Putzer, 'Bremer Rathaus', p. 64; Peter Putzer, 'Kaiser und Reich: Der Kurfürstenfries des Jakob Russ als Dokument der Verfassungsgeschichte', in *Der Überlinger Rathaussaal: Ein Kunstwerk aus dem Herbst des Mittelalters*, ed. by Guntram Brummer, 2nd edn (Friedrichshafen: Gessler, 2001), pp. 20–35 (pp. 23–24); Ernst Schubert, 'Die Stellung der Kurfürsten in der spätmittelalterlichen Reichsverfassung', *Jahrbuch für westdeutsche Landesgeschichte*, 1 (1975), 97–128 (p. 106).

[6] Alexander Begert, *Böhmen, die böhmische Kur und das Reich vom Hochmittelalter bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches: Studien zur Kurwürde und zur staatsrechtlichen Stellung Böhmens* (Husum: Matthiesen, 2003), p. 277.

[7] Lilli Fischel, 'Die Bilderfolge des Richental-Chronik, besonders der Konstanzer Handschrift', in Ulrich von Richental, *Das Konzil zu Konstanz: Kommentar und Text*, ed. by Otto Feger, 2 vols (Starnberg: Gessler, 1964), I, 37–79 (p. 39).

[8] Albert Schramm, *Die Bilderschmuck der Frühdrücke*, 23 vols (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1920–43), IX (1926), no. 415; Otto Schottenloher, *Drei Frühdrucke zur Reichsgeschichte* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1938), pp. 10–11, 19.

[9] *Wie künig fore ein heyden in sim sale sas und sin ritter und seine knecht Rates fragt*, from *von künig Salomon und siner huß frouw Salome* (Strassburg: Mathis Hupfuff, 1499), in Schramm, *Bilderschmuck*, XX (1937), no. 2109. Similar examples of gesturing hands indicating the giving of counsel: ibid., nos 973, 979, 994, 2120, 2125.

Figure 1. Emperor Charles IV with the electors at the Diet of Nuremberg, 1356, *Die güldin bulle*, 1485 (by permission of the Warburg Institute Library, Univ. of London).

availability to a wider public of their images alongside the monarch, first in public buildings and then in woodcut illustrations. These grace many types of important printed publication in German, both the first printed version and then subsequent editions, notably of law codes like the *Schwabenspiegel* (first edition, 1471) or feudal law (1493), heraldic works, and above all the 1485 edition of the Golden Bull, where a whole sequence of ten illustrations is devoted to the electors and their offices.[10] Charles IV, himself one of the electors as King of Bohemia, is shown sitting in the Nuremberg diet surrounded by the six other electors, identifiable by their headgear and all making hand gestures, and by other members of his court (Figure 1).[11]

[10] The first printed edition of the Golden Bull (1474) was not illustrated: ibid., nos 1199–1208; Hoffmann, *Die bildlichen Darstellungen*, pp. 116, 118–29.

[11] The original has the same interrupted lines as the illustration accompanying this article, *Die güldin bulle, und Künigclich reformacion* (Strassburg: Johannes Prüß, 1485) [London, British Library, IB. 1572], fol. a ii^{r}.

In the 1490s the parallel but separate traditions of the *Quaternionen* shown without electors and the grouping of the electors with the emperor came together in two outstanding artistic productions. While Frederick III (1440–93) was still exercising joint rule with his son Maximilian (King of the Romans, 1486–1519, Emperor, 1493–1519), the town council of the small imperial city of Überlingen commissioned the sculptor Jakob Russ to supply for its town hall chamber a large group of limewood statues forty centimetres high. The two monarchs were positioned with the seven electors above the serried ranks of the conventional *Quaternionen*, each member with his own coat of arms.[12] Before construction was completed in 1494 a similar combined image had been printed a year earlier at Nuremberg in Hartman Schedel's *Weltchronik*. Lavishly illustrated in the workshop of Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, the book was published by Anton Koberger in over 2000 copies, some 1400 in Latin (the most expensive of them with coloured illustrations), and about 700 in German. The largest of the 1804 illustrations extended over one and a half folio openings, with the top echelons of the *Quaternionen* on the first two sides (as on the accompanying illustration) and the towns, villages, and peasants occupying the bottom of the following opening; some reproductions and commentators have even failed to notice that they are part of the same picture. All the named estates had their coats of arms, but unlike in the usual *Quaternionen*, the noble estates were also represented, with the exception of the dukes, by male figures with stereotyped features but distinctively fashionable headgear and crimped hairstyles, and in many instances tight stockings and long-pointed shoes as well. The twenty-eight members of the seven estates of nobles are crammed into two rows as relatively small figures, but at the top the standing electors are more dignified and splendidly dressed figures of the same larger size as the seated emperor. The chronicle itself merely comments that the imperial election is based on strong pillars and the emperor's power exalted over all other secular rulers. Nevertheless, the impression to readers, who will also later have seen Schedel's scheme reproduced in other works, must have been of the grandeur of the electors, with their special headgear and robes, insignia, larger portraits, and larger coats of arms (Figure 2).[13]

Although Schedel's model was widely followed and *Quaternionen* came to dominate sixteenth-century visual representations of the empire, for over two decades after 1493 woodcuts remained common of just the emperor together with the electors. A

[12] Guntram Brummer, '500 Jahre Überlinger Rathaussaal', in *Überlinger Rathaussaal*, ed. by Brummer, pp. 36–72 (pp. 36–37, 40, 70); Putzer, 'Kurfürstenkolleg', pp. 11–12.

[13] Hartmann Schedel, *Chronicle of the World: The Complete Annotated Nuremberg Chronicle of 1493*, ed. by Stephan Füssel (London: Taschen, 2001), p. 32; fols CLXXXIII^{v}–CLXXXV^{r}; Christoph Reske, *Die Produktion der Schedelschen Weltchronik in Nürnberg. The Production of Schedel's Nuremberg Chronicle*, Mainzer Studien zur Buchwissenschaft, 10 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), pp. 182, 186. A postscript to the 1485 incunabulum containing the Golden Bull already listed the four lay and three ecclesiastical electors among fifty-one 'estates' it described as the four pillars of the empire, *Die güldin bulle*, fol. 27^{v}.

report on the Diet of Worms (1495) had as its frontispiece six electors seated on benches in a circle about the enthroned Maximilian I, who alone carries his insignia; all electors except the Duke of Saxony make hand gestures.[14] This seems like no feudal hierarchy, but the monarch among his 'inner advisers' at the diet. This view of their role may not have fully corresponded to reality, but displayed what at least some of the electors were seeking. Maximilian's own understanding of the relationship was far different, as was manifest in the plans he drew up in 1512 for a triumphal procession which was to grace the council chambers and great halls of the empire, and indeed formed the model for over fifty metres of multiple large woodblocks published in 1526, as well as for a later mural in Nuremberg's town hall. In a part of the design never actually executed in either the original painted or the woodcut versions, Maximilian envisaged his Roman coronation being accompanied by representatives of the German kingdom: the houses of Austria, Bavaria, and Saxony, and the Archbishops of Magdeburg, Salzburg, and Bremen, but with the notable omission of the ecclesiastical electors and without singling out as electors the only two secular ones who are portrayed.[15]

Maximilian's notorious mistrust of all the German princes, but especially the electors, was expressed for instance in his complaints in the years before 1500 to Italian envoys that he was powerless in his own realm and would rather be like other monarchs and exercise command over the princes as well as all subjects in his realm.[16] His attitude was but a heightened form of that of previous emperors. After all, the claims of the electors to a share in ruling the country had even before the Golden Bull at times threatened imperial authority. Their ambitions for co-rule grew steadily and came closest to being realized during the fifteenth century, but collapsed at the start of the sixteenth, apart from brief revivals in its third quarter and during the Thirty Years War.[17] The failure of the electors in the later Middle Ages to consolidate the

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[14] Reproduced in Hermann Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I. Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, 5 vols (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1971–86), II (1976), opposite p. 304.

[15] *The Triumph of Maximilian I*, ed. by Stanley Applebaum (New York: Dover, 1964), pp. vi–vii, 11, 16; Linda S. Stiber, Elmer Eusman, and Sylvia Albro, 'The Triumphal Arch and the Large Triumphal Carriage of Maximilian I', *Book and Paper Group Annual*, 14 (1995) <http://aic.stanford.edu/sg/bpg/annual/v14/bp14-07.html> [accessed 5 Nov. 2004] (at n. 21).

[16] Alfred Schröcker, 'Maximilians I. Auffassung vom Königtum und das ständische Reich: Beobachtungen an ungedruckten Quellen italienischer Herkunft', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 50 (1971), 181–204 (pp. 186–94, 202–03).

[17] For the history of the electoral college, see Winfried Becker, *Der Kurfürstenrat* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1973); Schubert, 'Kurfürsten', pp. 97–128; Eduard Ziehen, *Mittelrhein und Reich im Zeitalter der Reichsreform, 1356–1504*, 2 vols (Frankfurt a. M.: Selbstverlag, 1934–37); Heckmann, *Stellvertreter*. An authoritative study for the period from 1558 is Axel Gotthard, *Säulen des Reichs: Die Kurfürsten im frühneuzeitlichen Reichsverband*, 2 vols (Husum: Matthiesen, 1999).

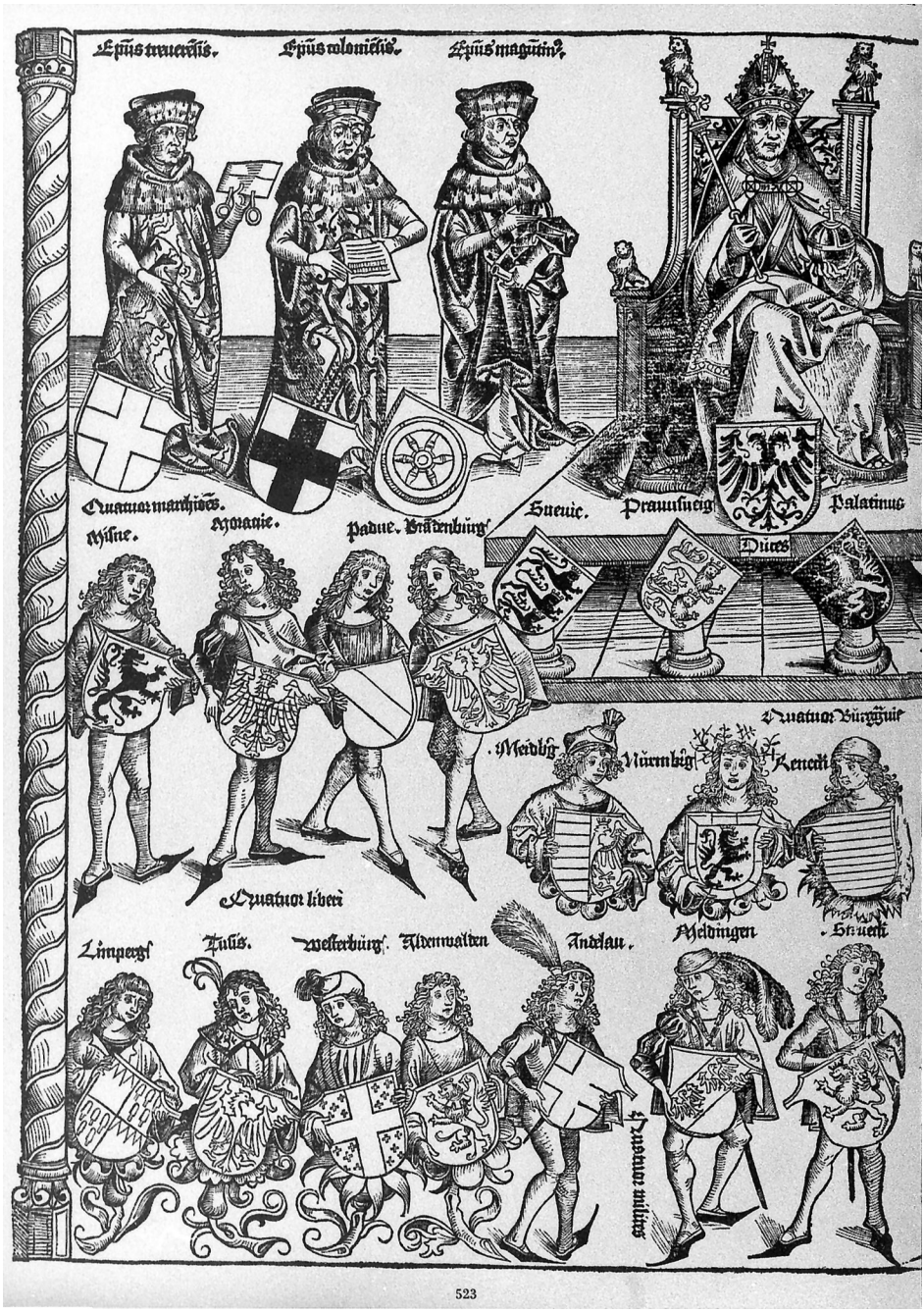

Figure 2. The leading estates of the empire; Harmann Schedel, *Weltchronik*, 1493

(published by permission of the Warburg Institute Library, University of London).

advances they had made and to turn their vision into lasting reality may be understood in the context of the trajectory of the empire's history as outlined by Peter Moraw and his school.[18] At all levels of German political life, but particularly at the imperial one, new challenges in the fifteenth century, both external and internal, required *Verdichtung* (intensification) of the instruments of government. The Hussite threat in the 1420s, wars from the 1450s with Hungary and the Turks, and finally Maximilian I's new responsibilities on the western borders of the empire and in Italy all brought a need to raise taxes for defence and to marshal support for military campaigns. There were additional fears during the Council of Basel (1431–49) for a renewed schism within the Church. Within the empire, the strengthening especially of the secular principalities only increased the dynastic quarrels among them and the disputes between the subjects of neighbouring powers. Throughout the century many of the imperial estates became conscious of the growing lack of adequate means to preserve law and order, administer justice, and secure better conditions for trade at a level above that of the principalities and imperial cities, measures collectively labelled 'imperial reform' by modern historians. Indeed, large numbers of contemporary theorists, mainly clerics, advanced various ideas for reform, although there is no evidence for their works having a direct influence on the political discussions about reform.[19] All these desiderata gave the electors unprecedented opportunities to take the lead in imperial affairs, especially when emperors were weak or distracted elsewhere.

The claims of the electors were underpinned by the Golden Bull, a document issued by Emperor Charles IV but negotiated by him with the electors in two diets of 1356. From its prologue onwards it postulated concord among the electors as the essential guarantee for the strength of the empire.[20] Their many personal, ceremonial, and territorial privileges were confirmed and extended (caps. III–XI, XIII, XX–XXVIII) as an important means to uphold the integrity of the electoral process and ensure its undisputed outcome (caps. I–II). Moreover, the Golden Bull envisaged

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[18] See mainly Peter Moraw, *Von offener Verfassung zu gestalteter Verdichtung: Das Reich im späten Mittelalter 1250 bis 1490* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1985); Moraw, *Über König und Reich: Aufsätze zur deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte des späten Mittelalters*, ed. by Rainer Christoph Schwinges (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995); Sabine Wefers, *Das politische System Kaiser Sigmunds* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1989); Eberhard Isenmann, 'Integrations- und Konsolidierungsprobleme in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts', in *Europa 1500: Integrationsprozesse im Widerstreit*, ed. by Ferdinand Seibt (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1987), pp. 115–49.

[19] See especially Heinz Angermeier, *Die Reichsreform 1410–1555* (Munich: Beck, 1984).

[20] The standard Latin edition, together with a parallel Early New High German version based on the earliest translations, in *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum 1354–1356*, ed. by Wolfgang D. Fritz, MGH Constitutiones, 11 (Weimer: H. Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1978–92), pp. 537–633; the Latin text with a parallel modern German translation in *Quellen zur Verfassungsgeschichte des römisch-deutschen Reiches im Spätmittelalter (1250–1500)*, ed. by Lorenz Weinrich (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftlcihe Buchgesellschaft, 1983), pp. 314–95. The most accessible full English translation is at <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/medieval/golden.htm> [accessed 6 January 2005].

ongoing tasks for the electors in the government of the realm. The electors of the Palatinate and Saxony were to be imperial vicars during interregna, with powers to exercise jurisdiction and grant fiefs and benefices, though not the highest ones; nor could they alienate imperial lands (cap. V). The electors were described as 'solide bases imperii et columpne immobiles' ('feste stutzil und unbewegliche sule des richis', i.e. 'the solid foundations and immovable pillars of the empire'[21]) and as 'propinquiora sacri imperii membra esse noscuntur' ('von den kuntliche ist, daz sie die nestin gledir sint des heiligen richis', i.e. 'who are known to be the innermost members of the holy empire'[22]), phrases often repeated both before 1356 and afterwards. They were required also to meet annually to discuss the problems of the empire, with the implication that this would be a *Hoftag*, a meeting of the extended royal court, at which they gave advice to the Emperor (cap. XII). By this time it was largely the electors and no others who were called upon occasionally to issue *Willebriefe*, letters of consent for especially important or contentious imperial grants and investitures, though legitimacy did not depend on them and in later centuries these letters became even less common than before. Charles IV, himself a talented linguist, optimistically required in the Golden Bull that the German-speaking heirs to the lay electors be taught Latin, Italian, and Czech between the ages of seven and fourteen, so that they could understand the needs of all the empire's peoples (cap. XXXI).

Education in four languages did not become the norm for the heirs to the electors nor did annual meetings of the electors take place. Nevertheless, in 1400 a majority of them, in this instance the four Rhenish electors who until the late fifteenth century always took the lead, presumed to depose Emperor Wenzel (1378–1400) and replace him with one of their own number, Ruprecht (1400–10) of the Palatinate. For most of the 1420s the electors pursued a whole range of independent activities while Emperor Sigismund was distracted by his conflict with the Hussites in Bohemia. From 1421 onwards they led the resistance to the Hussites, met together regularly to coordinate policy, called diets independently of the Emperor, and tried to raise taxes. Altogether, they made it clear that they had a responsibility alongside Sigismund in ruling the empire.[23] In 1424, at Bingen, they renewed their electoral league in much the same terms as in 1399, but turned it against the Hussite heretics. By making provisions for their successors to be admitted to the league, they implied its permanence and their

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[21] *Constitutiones, 1354–1356*, ed. by Fritz, p. 596, lines 5–6; p. 597, lines 4–5.

[22] Ibid., pp. 578, lines 3–4; 579, lines 3–5. Similar phrases ibid., pp. 578, lines 7–8; 630, lines 25–26. Especially in the preamble to the Golden Bull, the electors were compared with biblical resonances to the seven pillars in the Apocalypse, the seven virtues, the seven gifts of the spirit in Isaiah, and a seven-branched candelabrum illuminating the empire; see Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller, *Cogor adversum te: Drei Studien zum literarisch-theologischen Profil Kaiser Karls IV. und seiner Kanzlei* (Warendorf: Fahlbusch, 1999), pp. 162–64, 183–84, 214–16.

[23] Christiane Mathies, *Kurfürstenbund und Königtum in der Zeit der Hussitenkriege: Die kurfürstliche Reichspolitik gegen Sigismund im Kraftzentrum Mittelrhein* (Mainz: Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1978), pp. 49, 52–53, 56–58, 78, 82–83, 151, 163, 173, 177.

own control over who was entitled to be elector; they immediately went on to decide the succession to the Saxon electorate.[24] The main limitation on what they could achieve was, as so often, the rivalries between them. The old territorial disputes of Mainz and the Palatinate were never far from the surface and could be exploited by the Emperor. Indeed the whole middle Rhine region was unstable, as its four electors competed for the allegiance of the local lesser powers. The Elector Palatine also resented the Archbishop of Mainz assuming the imperial vicariate during Sigismund's absence from the empire, and after the revision of the league in 1427 these two electors supported rival claimants to the see of Trier. Only the external danger from the Hussites held the electors uneasily together, and they had difficulty in persuading the princes and cities of the empire to follow their leadership.[25] Nevertheless, once the Hussite problem had subsided, the threat of renewed schism within the Church enabled the electors at times to negotiate separately from the emperors with the Council of Basel and the popes between 1438 and 1447.[26] The 1446 renewal of the electoral union dropped any mention of heretics but introduced a new provision for reciprocal aid in case of attack.[27] In the third book of his *De concordantia catholica* (1433), Nicholas of Cusa, for all his stringent accusations that the selfishness of the electors, especially during imperial elections, contributed to the weakness of the empire, envisaged a prominent position for them in his proposals for a revised imperial constitution with annual assemblies to enact reforms in the system of justice.[28]

During the brief reign of Albrecht II (1438–39) the electors first advanced, though later abandoned, the proposal that a permanent advisory council of electors be estab-

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[24] *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Wenzel*, vol. III: *1397–1400*, ed. by Julius Weizsäcker (repr., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1956), pp. 81–83, 103; *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Sigmund*, vol. VIII, ed. by Dietrich Kerler (repr., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1957), p. 294; both alliances are printed more conveniently in *Quellen zur Verfassungsgeschichte*, ed. by Weinrich, pp. 432–33, 464–67. Frederick of the Palatinate, who took over the electorate from his minor nephew in 1451 contrary to the provisions of the Golden Bull, was not recognized as elector by Emperor Frederick III but soon accepted as such by the other electors individually and then admitted into their league in 1461: Schubert, 'Kurfürsten', pp. 122–24; Henry J. Cohn, *The Government of the Rhine Palatinate in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 31.

[25] Mathies, *Kurfürstenbund*, pp. 224–25, 269; Wefers, *Politisches System*, pp. 82–85, 106, 120, 130, 133, 226.

[26] Johannes Helmrath, *Das Basler Konzil 1431–1449: Forschungsstand und Probleme* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1987), pp. 290–92, 309–20; Joachim W. Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), pp. 119–22 and passim.

[27] Ziehen, *Mittelrhein und Reich*, I, 60. The supposed renewal of 1461 mentioned by several historians was merely the acceptance of a new member into the league: Begert, *Böhmen*, p. 247.

[28] *Quellen zur Reichsreform im Spätmittelalter*, ed. by Lorenz Weinrich (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2001), pp. 176–87; Becker, *Kurfürstenrat*, pp. 99–102.

lished at the royal court.[29] Until Frederick III returned to take more interest in the affairs of the empire after 1470, the electors initiated demands for him to return there or else agree to a King of the Romans of their own choosing to rule on his behalf. In reform proposals drafted in the chancery of Archbishop Jacob of Trier, then adopted by the ecclesiastical electors and, after further revisions, presented on behalf of all the electors to the diets of 1454 and 1455, plans for imperial reform were advanced which in good part anticipated those of thirty to forty years later. The ecclesiastical electors believed that the initiative for far-reaching reforms, extending even to the internal governance of the royal household, should be taken by all the electors, and that unity among them might lead to their advice being better accepted by Pope and Emperor for the parallel reform of Church and state. The Emperor should spend time in the centre of the empire, 'glycherwyse wir kurfursten auch personlich by yn kommen und blyben glycherwise, als die cardinale by dem pabsde and yre heymliche consistoria halten, vur die meyste sachen ußrichten' ('likewise we electors should also come and stay with [the Emperor], just as the cardinals do with the pope and hold secret consistories to dispatch the majority of business').[30] Frederick III could ignore the repeated calls to come to the empire in large part because the major German princes outside the electoral college would not cooperate with it, and indeed both groups were divided by dynastic quarrels and wars and had different expectations of imperial reform. A sign of the changing times were the separate reform proposals, bypassing the ecclesiastical electors, put forward by King George Podiebrad of Bohemia with the elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Bavaria in 1463.[31]

The electors' advance to the forefront of national affairs was aided by the emergence from *c*. 1470 onwards of the *Reichstag* which gradually replaced the more loosely structured diets summoned by medieval monarchs, the *Hoftage*.[32] The new

[29] Angermeier, *Reichsreform*, pp. 77–78.

[30] *Quellen zur Reichsreform*, ed. by Weinrich, p. 305; the different versions of the proposals, ibid., pp. 301–20; *Quellen zur Verfassungsgeschichte*, ed. by Weinrich, pp. 508–09; see Isenmann, 'Konsolidierungsprobleme', pp. 130–35, 141–43.

[31] Podiebrad called himself the leading secular elector of the empire and exceptionally for a King of Bohemia sent representatives to diets, but did not join the electoral league; later kings limited their commitment to the empire even more strictly to participation in elections and securing recognition of their own titles: Begert, *Böhmen*, pp. 247–48, 273–74.

[32] On recent interpretations of the diets' history, see Peter Moraw, 'Versuch über die Entstehung des Reichstags', in *Politische Ordnungen und soziale Kräfte im Alten Reich*, ed. by Hermann Weber (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1980), pp. 1–36. See also Peter Moraw, 'Hoftag und Reichstag von den Anfängen im Mittelalter bis 1806', in *Parlamentsrecht und Parlamentspraxis in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, ed. by Hans-Peter Schneider and Wolfgang Zeh (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), pp. 3–47 (also in Moraw, *Über König und Reich*, pp. 47–71); Peter Moraw, 'Der Reichstag zu Worms 1495/1995: Eine Einführung', in *1495 – Kaiser, Reich, Reformen: Der Reichstag zu Worms*, ed. by Claudia Helm and Jost Hausmann (Koblenz: Landesarchivverwaltung Rheinland-Pfalz, 1995), pp. 25–37 (pp. 30–33); Eberhard Isenmann, 'Kaiser, Reich und deutsche Nation am Ausgang des 15. Jahrhunderts', in *Ansätze und*

body comprised the electors, its oldest element, the imperial cities (though by no means all of them were summoned until 1495 onwards), and the college or house of princes which only appeared as a separate entity during the second half of the fifteenth century. The development of an agreed composition and procedures for the diet faltered until 1485, since Emperor Frederick III continued to attend few of the 'diets without a king' dominated by the electors, as he preferred to negotiate financial aid with the individual estates. Desperate need for finances, as well as the desire to secure the election of his son Maximilian as King of the Romans, brought the Emperor to the Frankfurt diet in 1486. Although Frederick appeared again in person at Nuremberg in 1487, he thereafter merely sent Maximilian to some of the diet's sessions until 1491. Just when the conflicts of the Habsburgs with enemies on three flanks of the empire made their need for money most acute, Archbishop Berthold von Henneberg of Mainz (1484–1504) began to advance the cause of imperial reform with great energy as the price for any financial assistance, and as a means for preventing foreign wars which he and many other estates considered inadvisable.

Historians disagree strongly about Archbishop Berthold in part because his views are hidden by the sources. The various draft laws for raising money, notably the *Gemeiner Pfennig* (Common Penny) of 1495, for regulating a perpetual peace (*Landfriede*), for reforming the *Kammergericht* (imperial chamber court), for enforcing these measures, and for the *Reichsregiment* (imperial regiment) stem from his Mainz chancery, and then from the King's Roman chancery which he actively headed for the first ten years of Maximilian's reign. But did these documents reflect just Berthold's ideas, or those collectively arrived at by the electors and princes on whose behalf they were submitted? Apart from a few testy and perhaps tactical speeches to the diet (he was a 'strange schoolmaster', Maximilian complained[33]), his own views do not emerge clearly. He seems to have been ambitious to pull all the strings, combining the roles of imperial chancellor, spokesman for the estates, president of the electors' college, and intermediary with the king; at the Diet of Worms of 1495 he set the agenda for the discussions and controlled the flow of information between the estates.[34] But who exactly his supporters were is also unclear. At times

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Diskontinuität deutscher Nationenbildung im Mittelalter, ed. by Joachim Ehlers (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989), pp. 145–246; Henry J. Cohn, 'The German Imperial Diet at the End of the Fifteenth Century', in *Representative and Parliamentary Institutions: Proceedings of the 53rd Conference of the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions*, ed. by Jaume Sobriqués and others, 2 vols, Studies presented to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, 82 (Barcelona: Parliament of Catalonia and Museum for the History of Catalonia, 2005), II, 149–57, where fuller references may be found for the passages below on the diets.

[33] Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.*, III (1977), 435.

[34] Alfred Schröcker, 'Unio atque concordia: Die Reichspolitik Bertholds von Henneberg 1484 bis 1504' (dissertation, Würzburg, 1970), pp. 196–97, 218–22, 392–402; Christina Göbel, *Der Reichstag zu Worms 1495* (1992 Giessen dissertation on microfiches, Marburg: Tectum, 1996), p 192.

they may have included Duke Eberhard of Württemberg, Duke Albrecht of Saxony, Margrave Friedrich of Brandenburg-Ansbach, Duke Heinrich of Mecklenburg, Count Haug von Werdenberg, the Bishop of Chur, Berthold's own brother (Jörg von Henneberg, head of the Teutonic Order's house at Mergentheim), and Frederick the Wise of Saxony, but it is better to speak not of a reform party but of shifting constellations.[35] The majority of these men who sat in the drafting committees at the Diet of Worms were also members of the Swabian League of south German princes, prelates, imperial nobles, and free cities, created in 1488 by the Emperor as a bulwark against the Bavarian Wittelsbachs; and indeed for a long period Berthold and Maximilian shared the objective of using the Swabian League against the Wittelsbachs.[36] Berthold's relations with Maximilian were probably more cordial at first and given to compromise than they became in 1495 and after.

A partly hidden agenda to Berthold's objectives was to give the estates a place alongside the emperor as one of several partially new integrating institutions for the empire and to strengthen the electors' leading role within the estates. Early at the Worms diet of 1495 the Bishop of Würzburg's delegate reported a conversation with Berthold, from which it is clear that he had come to the diet with a plan of action and worked on the delegates to adopt it even before the assembly was formally opened.[37] This agenda for the diet, which has to be read from suggestions made during its course, not from any formal proposals, required that all eligible estates be invited to diets (achieved from 1495), that those who sent representatives give them full powers, and that monarchs negotiate collectively with the estates and not with individual members. There should also be greater involvement of the cities and a fairer repartitioning of taxes between the estates so as not to disadvantage the cities. Discussions should be held in secret until decisions were reached. The resolutions of diets were to be binding on all members, including those who had failed to attend or

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[35] Angermeier, *Reichsreform*, p. 168; Göbel, *Worms 1495*, p 256; Hans-Martin Maurer, 'Eberhard im Bart auf dem Reichstag in Worms von 1495', *Zeitschrift für württembergische Geschichte*, 59 (2000), 11–28 (pp. 16, 18, 21–22); Peter Schmid, 'Kurfürst Friedrich der Weise von Sachsen als Reichspolitiker', in *Fortschritte in der Geschichtswissenschaft durch Reichstagsaktenforschung*, ed. by Heinz Angermeier and Erich Meuthen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1988), pp. 47–74 (pp. 54–58); Christine Roll, '"Sin lieb sy auch eyn kurfurst…": Zur Rolle Bertholds von Henneberg in der Reichsreform,' in *Kurmainz, das Reichskanzleramt und das Reich am Ende des Mittelalters und im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Peter Claus Hartmann (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998), pp. 5–43 (pp. 12–13).

[36] Carl Horst, *Der Schwäbische Bund 1488–1534: Landfrieden und Genossenschaft im Übergang vom Spätmittelalter zur Reformation* (Leinfelden-Echterdingen: DRW, 2000), pp. 47–49, 79; Roll, 'Rolle Bertholds von Henneberg', p. 41.

[37] *Deutsche Reichstagsakten: Mittlere Reihe. Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Maximilian I.* (= *DRA MR*), vol. v, 3 parts, *Reichstag von Worms 1495*, ed. by Heinz Angermeier (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1981), pt. 3, pp. 1316–17.

be represented.[38] Many of these procedural rules, some of which were of course also desirable from the royal perspective, came by the end of the century to be accepted in principle by diets, although some individual estates continued into the sixteenth century not to abide by them.

The pre-eminence of the electors over the other estates was favoured by the way in which the diet had emerged and by its differences from other European representative assemblies. There were no directly elected members, only ruling princes and cities or their nominated representatives, most of whom saw their primary duty as to preserve the interests of their own states. Nor was there a separate house of clergy, as the prelates were divided between the colleges of the electors and princes, where they sometimes did not agree with their lay counterparts. These circumstances militated against rapid coherence of the estates or generous grants of taxation, or indeed its subsequent collection. The diet's procedures were cumbersome, comprising a series of dialogues between the king or his advisers and the whole assembly or, sometimes, individual colleges. The initiative was left very much with the electors. The majority principle was adopted within the colleges already from 1495, but most estates were more concerned to secure at least the appearance of unanimity. Voting was by means of the *Umfrage*: a leading member of each college canvassed the opinions of each member strictly according to precedence. This practice prevailed perhaps because for long the numbers attending sessions were small. All six electors usually came or sent their representatives, but of the approximately seventy eligible ecclesiastical and lay princes, only twenty-four were present or represented at the 1487 diet, thirty-seven at the well-attended one of 1495; and even fewer came when the monarch was not present. A consensus probably emerged within each college during the course of one or two rounds of 'voting'. Little is known of the internal debates, except that especially some in the princely college expressed dissent both behind closed doors and afterwards, notably the Bavarian dukes towards the end of the century. Duke George of Lower Bavaria feared that Archbishop Berthold's reform proposals of 1495 would give too much authority to the electors at the expense of principalities like the Bavarian duchies.[39] Among the numerous disputes over precedence which bedevilled the work of diets, the princes in 1498 successfully objected to sitting at the feet of the electors. Despite the electors' view of themselves as elevated co-governors of the empire, their dais had to be lowered.[40]

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[38] Reinhard Seyboth, 'Die Reichstage der 1480er Jahre', in *Deutscher Königshof, Hoftag und Reichstag im späteren Mittelalter*, ed. by Peter Moraw (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2002), pp. 519–45 (pp. 529–43); Roll, 'Rolle Bertholds von Henneberg', pp. 22–23; Peter Schmid, 'Herzog Albrecht IV. von Bayern und Kurfürst Berthold von Mainz,' *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte*, 58 (1995), 209–34 (pp. 213–19).

[39] Ibid., p. 224.

[40] Steven W. Rowan, 'A Reichstag in the Reform Era: Freiburg im Breisgau, 1497–98', in *The Old Reich: Essays in German Political Institutions, 1495–1806*, ed. by James A. Vann and Steven W. Rowan (Brussels: Éditions de la librairie encyclopédique, 1974), pp. 31–57 (p. 49).

The manner in which the colleges consulted among themselves left the dynamic for reaching agreement at the mercy of the electors. In response to royal proposals, the electors first formulated their view and conveyed it to the princes, who either debated it in plenum or, occasionally, divided first into their lay and ecclesiastical groups. The princely house either accepted the electors' response or expressed reservations, which would be resolved by further consultations between the two houses. The cities were usually brought into the loop, if at all, only for financial matters, especially the distribution of the burden between the estates; they usually simply gave their assent, albeit often after some prevarication, to what the two other houses had already agreed before consulting them. The common position of the estates was conveyed to the king or his agents, and similar bargaining resumed if the monarch was not content. In 1495 Maximilian sometimes negotiated also with individual colleges or a delegation summoned to him, a practice he engaged in more with the electors than with others. Sometimes these royal consultations with the electors were augmented by the presence of a few leading princes.

Altogether, the complexity of these negotiations meant that ad hoc committees had developed in the imperial assemblies earlier than elsewhere in Europe, from the reign of Emperor Sigismund onwards,[41] and especially for technical matters like the drafting of documents and deciding tax assessments. The electors, or more often their advisers, constituted one third or more of the committee members. At the 1489 diet at Frankfurt a committee was reconstituted, on the insistence of the princes, so as to have one third rather than half of its members drawn from representatives of the electors.[42] During the course of the long diet of 1495, five committees were set up for various purposes. At the Freiburg im Breisgau diet of 1498, the Emperor himself took the initiative to create a committee of fifteen containing six electors, and he was able on occasion to divide the committee by consulting only with the electors or their representatives. Nevertheless, it played a crucial role as the steering committee of the diet.[43]

Unsurprisingly, those few diets which did enact legislation of substance to improve the governance of the empire owed much to the work of the electors. A major result of the diet at Frankfurt in 1486 was the agreement between the Emperor and the electors on a ten-year peace throughout the empire (*Reichslandfriede*), concluded

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[41] Both the use of committees and the *Umfrage* in the diets were remarkably similar to the practice at the Council of Constance, as regulated in a decree of 1415 for the German nation: Walter Brandmüller, *Das Konzil von Konstanz, 1414–1418*, 2 vols (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1991–97), I (1991), 389–94; II (1997), 75–78.

[42] *DRA MR*, III, *1488–90*, 2 parts, ed. by Ernst Bock (1972–73), pt. 2, pp. 1009, 1082 n. 150.

[43] *DRA MR*, VI, *Reichstage von Lindau, Worms und Freiburg 1496–1498*, ed. by Heinz Gollwitzer (1979), pp. 630–32; Dieter Mertens, '"Uss notdurft der hl. Cristenheit, reichs und sonderlich deutscher nation": Der Freiburger Reichstag in der Geschichte der Hof- und Reichstage des späten Mittelalters', in *Der Kaiser in seiner Stadt: Maximilian I. und der Reichstag zu Freiburg*, ed. by Hans Schadek (Freiburg i. B.: Kore, 1998), pp. 30–54 (p.48); Rowan, 'Reichstag', p. 48.

on the basis of a draft made by the electors.[44] By contrast, Maximilian, himself as yet only King of the Romans, had a view of the proper government of the empire which ignored the pretensions of the electors. After the diet of 1491 he drew up detailed plans which included the imperial peace becoming perpetual and annual meetings of diets with wide responsibilities for advising him and his father as joint monarchs, but made no mention of the cities attending the diets or of the electors having a special role.[45] Altogether the electors took the most initiative and exercised the greatest influence at the diet of 1495, which achieved more than most other diets, if not everything that Archbishop Berthold and at least some of his fellow electors had wanted.[46] At the beginning of the diet the electors negotiated alone together for several days in April before others were drawn in, and in the following weeks they provided half of the members of two key committees established to draft the reform legislation.[47]

For the electors to be an effective force, however, it was essential for them to present a united front. To that end regular meetings of the electors between diets had resumed. Elector Albrecht Achilles of Brandenburg noted before their 1485 meeting that in their league they had a need that

> das collegium der churfursten mitander unterred vor allen dingen, wie man es damit halten und was darinn zu thun oder zulassen sey, das einem als gleich sey, als dem andern, das das geschee mit eintracht, dem sprichwort nach zu furkommen 'omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur'.
>
> (the college of electors must above all discuss among themselves their views on all matters and how to act or to hold back, so that each is as satisfied as the others, to secure unity and avoid the proverb, 'every kingdom divided in itself will be destroyed'.)[48]

Preserving unity among the electors was necessary if they were not to be displaced by the growing power of the secular princes who were not electors, but it was not an easy task, as each elector pursued his own political interests, and rivalry especially between Mainz and the Palatinate was endemic for most of the later Middle Ages;

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[44] *DRA MR*, I, *Reichstag zu Frankfurt 1486*, 2 parts, ed. by Heinz Angermeier and Reinhard Seyboth (1989), pt. 1, p. 57.

[45] *Quellen zur Reichsreform*, ed. by Weinrich, pp. 371–73; Susanne Wolf, *Die Doppelregierung Kaiser Friedrichs III. und König Maximilians (1486–1493)* (2003 Regensburg dissertation on microfiches, Marburg: Tectum, 2003), pp. 306–07.

[46] *DRA MR*, V.1, 66; Göbel, *Worms 1495*, pp. 180, 324, 371.

[47] Ibid., pp. 26, 185–86, 245–47.

[48] *Politische Correspondenz des Kurfürsten Albrecht Achilles*, ed. by Felix Priebatsch, 3 vols, Publicationen aus den Königlich Preussichen Staatsarchiven, 59, 67, 71 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1894–98), III (1898), 334. At the diet of 1480 Albrecht Achilles had angered the princes by claiming that it was customary for anything agreed by the electors with the emperor to be resolved without further discussion: Ziehen, *Mittelrhein und Reich*, I, 33; Eberhard Isenmann, 'Die Städte auf den Reichstagen im ausgehenden Mittelalter', in *Deutscher Königshof*, ed. by Moraw, pp. 547–77 (p. 557).

Archbishop Berthold saw the Elector Palatine Philip as an obstacle to reform.[49] In 1487 objections by the three Rhenish electors of Mainz, Trier, and the Palatinate to a Rhine toll granted by the Emperor to the city of Cologne scuppered reform plans presented in the diet. In 1489 there were similar divisions over Archbishop Berthold's proposal to make the granting of financial aid conditional upon the adoption of reforms.[50] Nevertheless, the electors did for the most part hold together in diets after 1487 in their relations with the other estates. However, the lack of a similar desire for unity in the princely college could threaten the ability of the electors to win over that house.

The ambitions of the electors and some princes went beyond establishing the diet as a curb on the Emperor and an instrument for reform legislation. The plan for a *Regiment* to rule the country in the Emperor's absence, or even at all times, was a major bone of contention, and Maximilian would only accept one if it came largely under his control. Measures for reform made most progress at the times of Maximilian's greatest external weakness in 1495 and 1500, when the granting of subsidies was held up until the King agreed to reforms. In 1495 the *Reichsregiment* was proposed as a means for implementing the *Landfriede*, securing execution of the decisions of the reformed *Reichskammergericht*, and supervising the collection of the *Gemeiner Pfennig*. The draft proposals of 18 May 1495, presented by the electors and princes, envisaged a 'president' appointed by the Emperor, six members by the electors, and ten by the other estates. For an unspecified number of years this council was to reside permanently in Frankfurt and keep the imperial archive there. Its consent would be required for the making of treaties and the conduct of war and peace. It was to be empowered to summon diets and supervise all affairs of government with the exception of investing holders with the highest fiefs and regalia. New taxes, however, were to be referred for decision to the Emperor and electors. When present, the Emperor and his advisers were expected to take part in the regiment's deliberations. At least one elector was always to be resident in person, and the electors were given the initiative for several of the council's proposed activities. Six of the thirteen commissioners who were to audit the council's accounts would be named by the electors. The six electors were to conduct an annual review of the council's operation.[51] Maximilian in his counter-proposals two months later wanted to appoint all the members of the *Regiment* himself from the different regions of Germany (i.e. not

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[49] Göbel, *Worms 1495*, pp. 180, 185–90; Ziehen, *Mittelrhein und Reich*, I, 41; II, 497–98, 502–03, 521, 548, 551.

[50] *DRA MR*, II, *Reichstag zu Nürnberg 1487*, 2 parts, ed. by Reinhard Seyboth (2001), pt. 1, pp. 70–71; III.2, 1007.

[51] *DRA MR*, V.1, 335–46; Frederick the Wise made a considerable input in commenting on the draft proposals: ibid., pp. 346–50. See also Peter Schmid, *Der Gemeine Pfennig von 1495* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1989), p. 253 n. 356; Roll, 'Rolle Bertholds von Henneberg', p. 34.

according to their imperial status, which tended to privilege the electors), and for the council to meet only in his absence from the empire.[52] The original scheme was abandoned as even some electors (Brandenburg, the Palatinate, and possibly Saxony) were reluctant and several leading princes, including Hesse and the Wittelsbachs, joined the Emperor in flatly opposing it. Berthold and his associates gave it up as the price for acceptance of their other reforms, including the Common Penny, which was intended to ensure a more equitable distribution of the tax burden between the estates than did the existing matriculation system based on fixed military contributions or their monetary equivalent from each estate.[53]

The problems of implementing the reforms of 1495 overshadowed the next decades. A *Handhabung* (executive ordinance) was drawn up by the Emperor at the Diet of Worms, but its single sealed manuscript version did not leave the royal chancery.[54] It entrusted implementation of the already enacted measures on peace, law, and order to the Emperor and to annual diets. So little progress was made at the next two diets that, in 1498, before going to the diet at Freiburg, Maximilian promulgated an administrative reform setting up his own (*Reichs*)*Hofrat* (imperial aulic council), with Frederick the Wise as *Statthalter* (regent) and several other imperial estates among the members. In the elector of Saxony Maximilian had won over, at least for a time, Archbishop Berthold's main potential ally.[55] The *Hofrat* was entrusted with administrative and judicial responsibility not only for the Habsburg territories but for the empire, in direct competition with the *Reichskammergericht* and any ruling body which the diet might seek to establish. However, Maximilian's next crisis facing pressure from abroad enabled the diet to set up the Nuremberg *Reichsregiment* of 1500, with the electors now filling six of the twenty seats. However, its constitution made fewer inroads into the Emperor's powers than had the draft of 1495, and in practice the electors and most of the princes took as little interest in making the *Regiment* work as did Maximilian, who undermined it as soon as his fortunes abroad revived.[56]

From June 1502 onwards the electors made a last attempt under Archbishop Berthold's lead to provide a counterweight to the monarch. Already before the *Reichsregiment* collapsed, and in response to Maximilian summoning imperial troops for a 'crusade' against the Turks without calling a diet, they agreed to meet at

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[52] 22 June 1495, *DRA MR*, V.1, 352–58.

[53] Göbel, *Worms 1495*, pp. 30–38; Peter Schmid, 'Die Reformbeschlüsse von 1495 und ihre politische Rahmenbedingungen', in *Das Reichskammergericht: Der Weg zu seiner Gründung und die ersten Jahrzehnte seines Wirkens (1451–1527)*, ed. by Bernhard Diestelkamp (Cologne: Böhlau, 2001), pp. 117–44 (p. 141); Angermeier, *Reichsreform*, pp. 169–73.

[54] Copies did, however, find their way into the chanceries of the leading princes: 7 August 1495, *DRA MR*, V.1, 447–65; Moraw, 'Reichstag zu Worms', pp. 33–34.

[55] Mertens, 'Freiburger Reichstag', p.47; Angermeier, *Reichsreform*, pp. 190–92.

[56] Wolfgang Reinhard, *Reichsreform und Reformation 1495–1555* (Gebhardt, *Handbuch der Deutschen Geschichte*, 10th edn, vol. IX) (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001), pp. 233–34.

Gelnhausen to coordinate their riposte, and each also invited princes in their regions to attend. Most princes refused to take part in what Maximilian later branded a *Reichstag* called by the electors.[57] Instead the electors once more renewed their league, which Eduard Ziehen described with some exaggeration as the 'highpoint in the history of the electoral vision of the empire'. Hermann Wiesflecker derided the terms of the league as a conspiracy against Maximilian, without noticing that most clauses merely repeated what had been agreed by the league in 1424 or even in several instances in 1399. The main additions were renewed calls for annual separate meetings of the electors and for them to remain united at diets. The electors also insisted that a diet be consulted before war could be waged, and drew up a full agenda for its meeting.[58] Berthold called five more meetings of the electors during the next two years, but they achieved little, and gradually their opposition to the Emperor diminished.[59] For forty years thereafter the electors did not meet as a body outside the *Reichstag* except for the election of a king or emperor. The four Rhenish electors did continue their older tradition of separate meetings, but in effect they were now just one of the ten circles established in 1512, the Rhenish one, and discussed principally regional matters like territorial quarrels, trade, tolls, and currencies.[60]

Explanations for this collapse in the electors' activities at the turn of the century may be divided into two kinds, the general trends of the period and developments specific to the last two decades of Maximilian's reign. Over the centuries, the electors were only in a strong position during the reigns of weak emperors or those gravely threatened by foreign enemies. Whereas Eduard Ziehen saw the second half of the fifteenth century as the *Kurfürstenzeit* (the era of the electors),[61] it was really a period during which lay princes like those of Bavaria and Württemberg emerged as major players on the scene of national politics; the electors ignored them at their peril. Institutionally, by becoming absorbed into the diet, albeit as its leading college, the electors

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[57] Maximilian I to Archbishop Berthold, 2 September 1502, *Frankfurts Reichscorrespondenz, nebst anderen verwandten Aktenstücken von 1376–1519*, ed. by Johann Janssen, 2 vols (Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1863–72), I.2 (1872), 672–73. The largely successful attempts by Maximilian to wreck subsequent meetings in 1502 by summoning his own alternative meeting to Gelnhausen for later in the year may be followed in *Regesta Imperii XIV: Ausgewählte Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Maximilian I., 1493–1519*, ed. by Hermann Wiesflecker, vol. IV.1 (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002), nos 16650, 16654, 16747, 17039.

[58] 5 July 1502, Ziehen, *Mittelrhein und Reich*, II, 659–63; Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.*, III (1977), 20–27; Begert, *Böhmen*, p. 250 n. 404; Gotthard, *Säulen des Reiches*, I, 203, 224; Roll, 'Rolle Bertholds von Henneberg', pp. 31–33.

[59] Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.*, III, 28, 30, 33–35; Gotthard, *Säulen des Reichs*, I, 225–26, 437, 657.

[60] Helmut Neuhaus, 'Die Rheinischen Kurfürsten, der Kurrheinische Kreis und das Reich im 16. Jahrhundert', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 48 (1984), 138–60 (pp. 146–47); Gotthard, *Säulen des Reichs*, II, 659–66.

[61] Ziehen, *Mittelrhein und Reich*, I, 17.

lost some of their specific role, since diets meeting regularly discussed the major issues of the day and passed legislation. Moreover, as diets attended by the king grew in importance, so assemblies of the electors only or *königslose Tage* of the imperial diet in which they took the lead became rare and eventually extinct. Institutions of central government like the *Reichskammergericht* and the imperial treasurers for collecting taxes, on which all the estates had representatives, took over some of the functions of central government between diets.[62] Most importantly, the territorial interests of individual princes cut across attempts like Archbishop Berthold's to secure unity among the estates. Particularism of this nature also affected the ability of the electors themselves to act in unison at several of the diets which discussed reform plans.

Circumstances during the remaining twenty years of Maximilian's reign swung to his advantage. In his last years Archbishop Berthold became ill, disillusioned, and less effective in marshalling enthusiasm among the estates. He became more intransigent in his suspicions of Maximilian and even more reluctant to accord him any meaningful role in the government of the empire. Already before Berthold's death the monarch had taken back the Roman chancery and regained control of the *Reichskammergericht*. The *Reichshofrat* took over many of the functions which the reform-minded had hoped would pass to a regiment staffed by their nominees. In southern Germany the Swabian League, which included two electors alongside other princes, prelates, nobles, and cities, proved more effective in keeping peace and order than could any imperial institutions. Already in 1492 Elector Philip of the Palatinate had warned Archbishop Berthold that the League, because of its ability to supply military assistance to estates which found themselves in difficulties, threatened to win influence in the empire from the electors.[63] Regional solutions to the problem of governing the empire appeared more viable than the multiplication of central institutions. In 1512 the circles were for the first time extended to include all Germany, now bringing in also the territories of the electors. The circles were made responsible for the *Landfriede*, although they did not really become effective in this role until after new regulations in 1555.

The diets of the early sixteenth century did not fulfil the role envisaged for them as vehicles for the electors' influence. There was no diet between 1500 and 1505; hence the attempt to breathe more life into the electoral league in 1502, which Maximilian skilfully outmanoeuvred. The defeat of the Palatinate in the Bavarian Succession War of 1504, in which Maximilian took the side of the Dukes of Upper Bavaria, left all the Wittelsbachs subdued and beholden to the Emperor. Divisions among the electors grew as Maximilian secured the appointment of his relative Jacob of Baden to the see of Trier (1503) and of two Archbishops of Mainz favourable to him, notably Uriel von Gemmingen (1508–14). Maximilian's policy of winning individual princes as his supporters at least made it unlikely that they would oppose

[62] Gotthard, *Säulen des Reichs*, II, 655–57.

[63] Wolf, *Doppelregierung*, p. 339.

him, and in due course paid off when the diets proved more amenable. Following the example of many of his predecessors, including the often maligned Frederick III, he influenced appointments in cathedral chapters and so eventually to sees in southern Germany. While reserving male members of his family for European dynastic alliances, Maximilian married the females into four princely houses (Bavaria, Württemberg, Palatinate-Neuburg, and Brandenburg-Ansbach).[64] The return at the 1505 Diet of Cologne from the Common Penny to matriculation contributions for war finance importantly removed the link between imperial taxation and imperial reform. Thereafter the estates resisted most taxation outright because they did not wish to finance Maximilian's Italian wars, rather than choosing to use their power of the purse to secure reforms in exchange for grants, as they had done in 1495 and 1500. Even Maximilian's offer in 1505 to reconstitute the regiment, which he proposed should work in concert with the electoral league as well as with himself, only provoked the stonewall reply of the estates that the Emperor had ruled so well that they did not wish to stipulate any form of government by regiment. The annual diets and regiment which Maximilian envisaged in his proposals at the next diets were designed to strengthen his own authority, not that of the estates.[65]

Not to be underrated as a factor weakening the electors was their lack of a leader of the calibre of Archbishop Berthold. Frederick the Wise, whom Maximilian had won over in 1498 by making him president of his new *Hofrat*, broke with the Emperor by the end of the year and gradually became the spokesman for reform after Berthold's death, but his was a quieter disposition, reflected in his probable refusal of the imperial crown before Charles V was elected in 1519.[66] At that moment, however, the electors made a bold attempt to recover the ground they had lost. The electoral capitulations of 1519, wrested from Charles V's advisers in weeks of negotiation which are largely hidden from our cognizance, restated many of the individual and collective ambitions of the electors.[67] Its thirty-three provisions looked both forward to the new problems created by Charles V's huge responsibilities outside the empire and backwards to resentments which had built up against Maximilian and his advisers. In future the electors far more than the diets were to be guarantors

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[64] Horst Rabe, *Deutsche Geschichte 1500–1600: Das Jahrhundert der Glaubensspaltung* (Munich: Beck, 1991), pp. 125, 127–28.

[65] Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.,* II, 206–14; Angermeier, *Reichsreform*, pp. 197–204, 208. Research into the period 1500–18 is hampered by the lack of a modern edition of the proceedings of the diets, but Angermeier and Wiesflecker supply the outlines.

[66] Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.*, IV (1981), 262, 265; Henry J. Cohn, 'Did Bribes Induce the German Electors to Choose Charles V as Emperor in 1519?', *German History*, 19 (2001), 1–27 (pp. 25–26).

[67] *DRA, Jüngere Reihe*, *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Karl V.*, vol. I, ed. by August Kluckhohn (Gotha: Perthes, 1893), pp. 865–76; *Quellen zur Geschichte Karls V.*, ed. by Alfred Kohler (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), pp. 53–58; and see Roll, 'Rolle Bertholds von Henneberg', pp. 15, 43.

that Charles V fulfilled the obligations he undertook. The electors were to be allowed to meet periodically according to the provisions of the Golden Bull. Their consent, not the diet's, was required for foreign alliances, alienating possessions of the empire, granting new land and river tolls, calling the diet itself, and even taxes, for which it had become customary to seek the diet's agreement. The consent of the diet would be necessary to bring foreign troops into the country, but even here the agreement of the electors might suffice, presumably in a pressing emergency. Only concordats with the Church and the regulation of currencies and trading monopolies required action by the diet.

This renewed attempt to make the electors truly the 'inner advisers' of the monarch encapsulated the whole campaign to boost their influence which had culminated in the career of Berthold of Henneberg. The *démarche* of 1519 failed miserably, not only for all the reasons which had stalled previous attempts, but because the Reformation added major new cross-currents. Divisions multiplied within the ranks of the electors, and secular princes like Landgrave Philipp of Hesse and, later, the Dukes of Württemberg emerged to lead the Protestants. Diets had now moreover to take account of the religious interests of the imperial cities, who were in the van of the Reformation and often provided on the committees of the diets those personnel best qualified to discuss the disputed issues of the day. In this new world the electors were able at most to fight a rearguard action.

The 1490s had seen the aspirations of the electors closest to their realization, but not sufficiently anchored in the constitution to delay the steady waning of their role thereafter. During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the trajectory of the electors' ambitions pursued a similar path to that of their depiction in images which reflected a wider public understanding of their role. There may therefore be a strong presumption that political developments influenced the changing awareness of the balance of power in the empire, but it cannot be reinforced with evidence. Taken as a whole, moreover, visual representations were at best only an approximate reflection of the complex political situation. The widely distributed graphic summary of the constitution in the *Quaternionen* did not give appropriate recognition to the newly found importance of the diets, nor did it distinguish sufficiently between imperial estates and those which were not immediate of the empire. However, at least it accentuated the role which all the estates had acquired alongside the emperor, in contrast to the long-standing alternative depiction of the electors as his sole advisers. Even the composite version in Hartmann Schedel's *World Chronicle* of the electors looming over the other estates no longer gave an accurate measure of their relative influence, if it ever had.

How One Archbishop of Trier Perambulated his Lands

MIKHAIL A. BOJCOV

The solemn entry of a prince into his city — the *adventus domini* — was from Antiquity until the modern era one of the occasions on which the symbolic communication between the ruler and his subjects reached its highest intensity. These episodes are interesting for us as one of the forms of symbolic dialogue between the prince and his subjects, a dialogue which settled and fixed relations between these two counterparts. Recent decades have witnessed the publication of a great amount of scholarship dealing with such forms of symbolic communication, especially in connection with the ceremony of *adventus*. But most of this research deals with the highest strata of medieval society: emperors and kings on the one hand, and large cities such as Florence, Nuremberg, Paris, London, or Gent on the other.[1]

[1] Here is only a short list of the main publications: Bernard Guenée and Françoise Lehoux, *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris: Édition du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1968); Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual, and Art in the Renaissance* (Geneva: Droz, 1986); Bonner Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State* (Firenze: Olshki, 1986); Nadia Mosselmans, 'Les villes face au prince: l'importance réelle de la cérémonie d'entrée solennelle sous le règne de Philippe le Bon', in *Villes et campagnes au moyen âge: Mélanges Georges Despy*, ed. by Jean-Marie Duvosquel and Alain Dierkens (Liege: Perron, 1991), pp. 533–47; Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Achim Thomas Hack, *Das Empfangszeremoniell bei mittelalterlichen Papst-Kaiser-Treffen* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1999); Gerrit Jasper Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik: Herrschereinzüge im spätmittelalterlichen Reich* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003). For the German lands, see especially Hans Conrad Peyer, 'Der Empfang des Königs im mittelalterlichen Zürich', in *Archivalia et historica: Festschrift für Anton Largiadèr*, ed. by Dietrich Schwarz and Werner Schnyder (Zürich: Berichthaus, 1958), pp. 219–33; Anna-Marie Drabek, *Reise und Resezeremoniell der römisch-deutschen Herrscher im Spätmittelalter*, Phil. Diss. (Vienna: Geyer, 1963); Winfried Dotzauer, 'Die Ankunft des Herrschers: Der fürstliche "Einzug" in die

Only recently have we begun to look more attentively at 'ordinary' princes (including ecclesiastical ones) and their ceremonial interaction with their communities. Yet even in these cases, scholars have restricted themselves mainly to princes' relationships with the main town of their principalities, with their residences, or (in the case of bishops) with their metropolises.[2] The character of sources we generally have at our disposal does not usually allow us to learn anything about the 'dialogue' held between the prince and small communities in distant provinces of his principality. However, this essay asks whether it is possible to speak of something that could be called a 'provincial *adventus*'. To describe the entry of a 'common' prince in a small town somewhere on the edge of his lands is interesting not only in terms of the search for new historical facts, but also because of the opportunity it provides to compare the features of symbolic communication on different 'levels' of one and the same society. Did they appertain to different symbolic systems or rather to one and the same? Even if the latter, were there essential peculiarities on each 'level'? In other words, how homogeneous was the symbolic field of power?

In accordance with the situation in medieval Germany, one can reformulate the 'empirical' part of this research task in more precise 'constitutional' terms: how did an *imperial prince* (*Reichsfürst*) normally enter his *territorial* towns in the provinces, as opposed to his capital? To answer this question is not easy, because even for such big and politically important cities as Nuremberg or Frankfurt, less data has been

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Stadt (bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches)', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 55 (1973), 245–88; Klaus Tenfelde, 'Adventus: Zur historischen Ikonologie des Festzugs', *HZ*, 235 (1982), 45–84; Tenfelde, 'Adventus: Die fürstliche Einhohlung als städtisches Fest', in *Stadt und Fest: Zu Geschichte und Gegenwart europäischer Festkultur*, ed. by Paul Hugger and others (Stuttgart: W&H, 1987), pp. 45–60; Rainer Roy and Friedrich Kobler, 'Festaufzug, Festeinzug', in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by Otto Schmitt and Karl-August Wirth (Munich: Beck, 1937–2003), VIII (1987), 1417–1520; Alois Niederstätter, 'Königseinritt und -gastung in der spätmittelalterlichen Reichsstadt', in *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter: Paderborner Symposion des Mediävistenverbandes*, ed. by Detlef Altenburg and others (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991), pp. 491–500; Niederstätter, *Ante Portas: Herrscherbesuche am Bodensee 839–1507* (Konstanz: UVK, 1993); Mark Mersiowsky and Ellen Widder, 'Der Adventus in mittelalterlichen Abbildungen', in *Der weite Blick des Historikers: Festschrift Peter Johanek*, ed. by Wilfried Ehbrecht and others (Cologne: Böhlau, 2002), pp. 55–98. On the antique roots of the ritual, see first of all Joachim Lehnen, *Adventus principis: Untersuchungen zu Sinngehalt und Zeremoniell der Kaiserankunft in den Städten des Imperium Romanum* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1997).

[2] The princes most popular with modern historians are the Dukes of Burgundy, but it is difficult to see in them 'ordinary' princes, or to see in Gent a 'small town'. See here first of all Peter Arnade, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996). On the continuation of Burgundian traditions of adventus after division of the Ducate, see a methodologically relevant study, Wim Blockmans, 'Le dialogue imaginaire entre prince et sujets: les Joyeuses Entrées en Brabant en 1494 et en 1496', in *Fêtes et cérémonies aux XIV^e–XVI^e siècles* (Neuchâtel: Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes, 1994), pp. 37–53.

preserved than one would like. Historians have only begun to systemize material concerning some of the main princes' residences. But the case of small provincial towns is even worse. Even where they survive in the archives, the appropriate sources have been mostly left without any scholarly attention.

In the holdings of the *Landesarchiv* in Koblenz, among the files relating to the archbischopric of Trier, is preserved a manuscript that throws an unexpected amount of light on the practice and symbolism of 'provincial *adventus*', even on the micro-level of semirural communities.[3] This manuscript has never been published as a whole. However, it cannot be regarded as totally unknown to scholars. From time to time historians have opened this weighty volume of about five hundred pages with the title *Das Huldigungsbuch* (Book of Oaths), but until now none of them has shown interest in a systematic study of it.[4] Even a recent synthesis on the history of fidelity oaths from the Carolingians up to the early modern period, whose author used many archives from different parts of Germany,[5] neglected to mention the *Huldigungsbuch* from Trier.[6]

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[3] Koblenz, Landesarchiv, Bestand 701 (Handschriften), No. 4. (Hereafter I refer only to the folio number from this manuscript.) I am very grateful to the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, without whose gracious support it would be impossible for me to study this interesting archive. Special thanks to Dr Martina Knichel, who helped me in my studies there and drew my attention to the works and person of Peter Maier.

[4] Nevertheless, see the description of the manuscript and publication of one of the smallest, but oldest parts of it with the lists of travel costs of Archbishop Balduin of Luxemburg during his visitation of the principality and the following journey to the Reichstag in Nuremberg (1354–56): 'Ein Rechnungs- und Reisetagebuch vom Hofe Erzbischof Boemunds II. von Trier 1354—1357', ed. by Richard Salomon, *NA*, 33 (1908), 401–34.

[5] André Holenstein, *Die Huldigung der Untertanen: Rechtskultur und Herrschaftsordnung (800—1800)* (Stuttgart: Fischer 1991). See also Lothar Kolmer, *Promissorische Eide im Mittelalter* (Kallmünz: Lassleben, 1989).

[6] 'Huldigungsbuch' — 'the Book of Oaths' — seems to be a rather common type of documentation in late medieval Germany. See quotations from a similar book from the diocese of Speyer in *Quellensammlung der Badischen Landesgeschichte*, ed. by Franz Joseph Mone (Karlsruhe: Macklot, 1848–67), I (1848), 355–67; exposition of the procedure in Kurt Andermann, 'Zeremoniell und Brauchtum beim Begräbnis und beim Regierungsantritt Speyerer Bischöfe: Formen der Repräsentation von Herrschaft im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 42 (1990), 125–177 (pp. 141–49). The secretaries of the Bishops of Augsburg began to record the minutes (almost as rich in details as in Trier) of the swearing proceeding in 1486: Holenstein, *Huldigung der Untertanen*, p. 255. On the oldest notes concerning the visitations of his cities and towns by a new Bishop of Augsburg (1486), see A. Schröder, 'Quellen zur Geschichte des Bischofs Friedrich von Zollern', *Archiv für Geschichte des Hochstifts Augsburg*, 1 (1909/11), 91–138 (p. 98). The early minutes from 1397–98 in the 'Ingrossaturbücher' of Mainz seem less detailed: one fixed there only the very fact of giving oath and the circumstances which it accompanied: Anton Philipp Brück, 'Die Huldigungsreise des Mainzer Kurfürsten Johann II. von Nasau', *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, 2 (1952), 39–57. Thus one may suppose that the 'Huldigungsbuch' as a special sort of documentation must have appeared in the German lands in the fifteenth century.

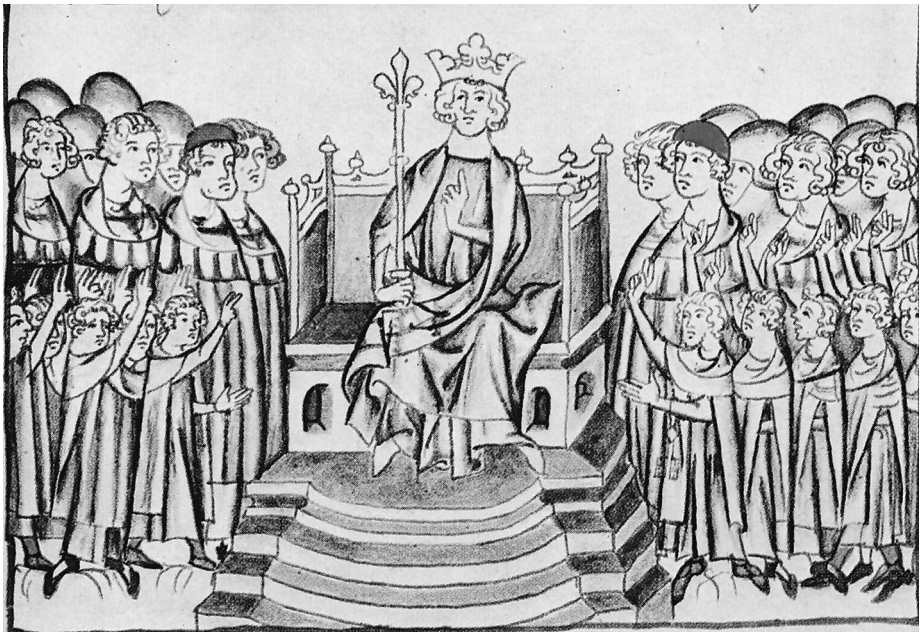

Figure 1. A scene of oath-taking to Emperor Henry VII in 1311. (*Heinrichs Romfahrt: die Bilderchronik von Kaiser Heinrich VII. und Kurfürst Balduin von Luxemburg 1308–1313*, ed. by Franz-Josef Heyen (Munich, 1978), p. 38.)

The *Huldigungsbuch* was compiled by Peter Maier from Regensburg. He was a secretary to the Archbishops of Trier for several decades in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[7] Most of the documents he copied in his manuscript come from the same period, but the compilation itself appeared in only about 1532, or perhaps slightly later. Maier's main source was his own collection of protocols and accounts initially written down immediately after, or even during, the events they were intended to fix. The result of his efforts turned out to be a rather motley compilation dealing with many different subjects. It would be of little use to describe explicitly all the parts of this collection. My intention here is very limited: to study the protocols relating only to several months of 1503 as the newly elected Archbishop Jacob II visited the towns and other places of his principality in order to receive the oaths of allegiance from his subjects.

[7] Paul Richter, 'Der kurtrierische Sekretär Peter Maier von Regensburg (1481—1542): Sein Leben und seine Schriften', *Trierisches Archiv*, 8 (1905), 53–82 (pp. 61–65); on dating of the 'Huldigungsbuch', see p. 61. See also a manuscript of the former director of archives in Koblenz — Wilhelm Maria Becker (1843—1906), 'Kurtrierische Sekretäre Peter Maier von Regensburg und Berthold Kruss von Regensburg' — now in 'Bestand' 700,56 of the same archives.

For practical reasons it will be necessary to limit the topic even more by excluding very interesting material about the reception of Jacob II by the citizens of Trier and Koblenz. These two 'capitals' exceeded in political weight all other cities and towns of the principality. Trier, with its old cathedral church and see, founded according to tradition by Eucherios, one of the followers of the Apostle Peter, was the main ecclesiastical centre of the principality. Koblenz, with its felicitous location at the confluence of the rivers Moselle and Rhine, was the favourite residence of the prince-bishops and the strategic stronghold of the principality. Here, on a high rock across the Rhine from the city, jutted the strong walls of Ehrenbrettstein. In this fortress the head of the church and of the principality of Trier could always find a secure refuge.[8]

The solemn entries of the archbishops into Trier and Koblenz were for the principality of Trier not only symbolic, but also legal actions of great importance: the cathedral chapter of Trier and the burghers of Koblenz were two very serious political forces that could in some situations cause severe headaches for the archbishops. The 'symbolic relations' between the prince and his two 'capitals' deserve separate discussion. The focus of this essay will be limited to the much less politically significant entries of a new Archbishop into the walls of the 'ordinary' towns of his principality. This material allows us to observe better the 'symbolic routine' of a 'provincial *adventus*'.

The majority of protocols collected by Peter Maier mention no names of the clerks who wrote them down. Several were, however, signed by a certain Nicolaus Liemscheidt de Hammerstein, who from 1492 was a scribe in the archbishop's chancellery.[9] It would have been very easy for Maier to eliminate these signatures in the process of copying the protocols into his compilation; nevertheless he decided to include them. The modest contribution of Nikolaus Liemscheidt can be understood if we assume that he stepped forward from the shadows only on the rare occasions when Peter Maier was prevented for some reason from carrying out his usual duties.

In any case, it may not matter much if there were two or more clerks who recorded events. More important is the fact that no one of them was ready to restrict himself to laconic statements that the inhabitants of this or that place swore their usual oath to the new archbishop. The special value of this source resides especially in the fact that the prince's secretaries did their best to record all possible details of the whole 'process' of oath-taking; they did not even feel shy about writing down episodes which were not very pleasant for the prince to recall. Behind the scrupulousness of the protocols one can discern the scrupulousness of this type of legal consciousness: each detail of the procedure could, in the right circumstances, acquire legal significance (advantageous or, vice versa, dangerous) for one of the sides. This is why even small points were carefully noted in such official documents.

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[8] On the residences of the Archbishops of Trier and especially about their two 'capitals', see Dieter Kerber, *Herrschaftsmittelpunkte im Erzstift Trier: Hof und Residenz im späten Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1995).

[9] Kerber, *Herrschaftsmittelpunkte im Erzstift Trier*, p. 230.

Though, as we shall see, the swearing ceremony carried out in different towns followed more or less the same pattern, the secretaries did not omit from their minutes descriptions of scenes that looked very much alike, and did not, in order to save their time and energy, simply refer to analogous episodes which they had entered a day or two earlier. Therefore, we must presume that each minute was considered to be a fully 'self-sufficient' document, from which one could gain all necessary information without having recourse to other analogous texts. Peter Maier must have been guided by similar considerations, as he preserved the original form of the documents when copying them into his collection, and did not shirk from reiterating descriptions of standardized situations, gestures, and formulas.

One should nevertheless be aware of the fact that the 'bureaucratic stories' of the Trier secretaries, meticulous as they were, cannot be regarded as precise 'videorecordings' of events, even if they sometimes leave such an impression. It is not possible for a modern historian to see the scenery of oath-taking by the subjects of the Archbishop of Trier other than from the perspective of Peter Maier or Nikolaus Liemscheidt. There is no doubt that, for example, town magistrates or ordinary townsmen saw some aspects of the same scenes in different ways from the prince's secretaries, and they would accordingly have described them from different perspectives than those of the protocols. But even this one-sided and possibly too 'professional' view provided by our authors is much better than absence of any view. Moreover, the secretaries acquired an eye for such details that had legal sense, or that at least could potentially gain such sense. Because of this, the subjects which attracted their enlightened bureaucratic attention can be just as interesting to modern historians as they were to contemporaries.

It is not a difficult task to elaborate an ideal type of reception ceremony in provincial towns of the principality of Trier: everything one needs for this can be found in a couple of dozen pages from the *Huldigungsbuch*. As soon as news came that the prince was to be expected, the whole adult male part of the community came together at a place of significant local importance: either before the church, at the town hall, or at the impressive house of a wealthy citizen.[10] The people gathered there belonged not only to the town itself: on such occasions some parts of this crowd came from neighbouring villages.

The scene of action was then decorated and 'equipped'. Thus, in front of the town hall of Montabaur there was erected a 'beautiful' platform at knee height and covered with expensive textiles.[11] In Münstermaifeld, in front of the church of Saints Martin

[10] According to the implicit logic of the ritual all adult males must have been present. In the diocese of Speyer in the second half of the sixteenth century one used even to organize a second swearing ceremony specially for those who had been ill and absent during the first one: Andermann, 'Zeremoniell und Brauchtum', p. 142.

[11] '(da es zierlich mitt bortten knyes hoch / vonn der erden zugericht was) mit ricke vnd ge- / wirckten docheren vmbhangen': fol. 87^{v}.

and Severus, certain 'stone seats' covered with cushions were installed, obviously prepared for the prince and the noblest persons from his entourage. From the church wall hung a large piece of textile: it was against this background that the inhabitants of the town were to see the Archbishop and his counsellors.[12] Inhabitants of Zell gathered at seven o'clock in the morning on the bank of the Moselle in front of the house of a certain Jacob and simply laid planks down on the earth, building in this way an improvised tribune; the prince with his following appeared shortly after.[13] A similar podium 'in a semicircle form' was built in Cochem in front of the 'Weinhaus' of a certain Adam Bahl. The building itself was decorated with carpets, hanging down.[14] It is a pity that the *Huldigungsbuch* of Trier does not describe any scenes in which the prince was standing under a lime tree for as long as his subjects were taking their oaths, as was usual for instance in some boroughs of the diocese of Augsburg.[15]

The procedure began with a speech by the prince's *Hofmeister*. In a loud voice he proclaimed the successful election by the chapter of the new Archbishop of Trier in place of the deceased one and asked if those presenting were ready to swear the oath to their new prince.[16] The community expressed its willingness, normally through one of its representatives. In some cases he asked the community to symbolically confirm his authority at this point: 'and I shall take this oath on behalf of the whole community as your burgomaster, is there the will of all of you?' And the burghers answered together: 'Yes!'[17] After that followed a specific procedure: everyone approached the Archbishop and gave him their right hand. In the ideal scenario the bishop literally reached out to each of his subjects and touched them. The protocols mention that one had to spend much time in queue waiting for an opportunity to stretch out one's hand to the prince. Peter Maier calculated that Archbishop Jacob II once had to press hands with almost

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[12] 'daselbs vor der dueren ettliche Kussen vff / den stynen sitzen lagen. Vnd eyne groisse gewreckt / Tuch hienge an der wandt der kirchen. Darfur vnser g. herre mitt syner g. reten vnd dieneren stoende vnnd liesse inen sagen': fols 86^{v}–87^{r}.

[13] 'vnd hatten etliche bortte vff die erde gelaigt, daruff / stoende vnser g. herre vnd syner gnaden diener': fol. 83^{r}.

[14] 'inn der statt daselbs vor Adam Bahl wins huss / ettliche tapissery hiengh vnd vff der erden / vor desselben Adams huyse hatten die burgere / ettliche bortte gelaigt, die vmb halben kryes / hoc von der erden lagen': fol. 84^{v}.

[15] Andermann, 'Zeremoniell und Brauchtum', p. 145.

[16] In the diocese of Speyer the ritual began in another way: two members of the cathedral chapter accompanying the new bishop in his journey through the principality first of all released the subjects from their 'provisorial' oath to the chapter. Only thereafter could they be immediately bound anew with the oath to the new bishop: Holenstein, *Huldigung der Untertanen*, p. 438.

[17] 'vnd den Eidt werden ich thun von / der gantzen gemeiden weggen als uwer Burgermeister / ist das uwer aller wille? Daruff anttworten sie "Ja"': fol. 125^{v}, the episode from Koblenz. See also fol. 79^{r}.

three hundred people.[18] But even this was not the greatest achievement of its kind. In the rather modest town of Longuich, one new archbishop in 1569 had to touch 1148 hands, whereas his successor in 1581 touched as many as 1213 hands.[19] If we allow only six seconds for each 'hand-pressing', we come to a total of about two hours for this part of the swearing ceremony alone, in a rather unimportant town. It is thus not surprising that in many such towns only one hand was taken by the bishop on behalf of the whole community.[20] This belonged to a plenipotentiary person, who could be called a burgomaster or simply *Amptmann*, as was the case in Wittlich.[21]

Such personal physical contact was an early and preferable form of ritual relationship between the ruler and every one of his subjects which was not restricted to the principality of Trier.[22] The replacement of individual personal contact with 'contact through a representative' was not simply a practical matter. One should not think that the need for a special representative to give hand arose in towns only because these had bigger populations than villages. We have just seen that more than a thousand people approached the archbishops even in small Longuich, although it would not be easy to find a town in the whole principality (with the exception of its two 'capitals' Koblenz and Trier) where there were more than a thousand male adult citizens.

One should here take into consideration the fact that the 'thousand and more' people swearing in Longuich were gathered from little fewer than forty different communities; that is why this 'thousand' must have appeared in the eyes of contemporaries as a very 'loose' one. This group thus could not have been perceived as any sort of 'corporation' able to be represented by a single authorized person. But town communities, even small ones, were different: they were regarded as some sort of unity and could therefore be represented by an individual empowered to give his hand to the Archbishop on behalf of all citizens. Whether the prince pressed one hand or a thousand was therefore a question not of a number but of a structure.

After the citizens had performed their duty as subjects, it was the turn of the prince to give his promises to respect the old privileges and freedoms of the community. The formulation here was rather ambiguous: the prince acknowledged his obligation to

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[18] 'der bis die III C waren — globten vnd schwueren': fol. 107^{v}.

[19] J. Hulley, 'Die Huldigung der Dörfer des Niederambts Trier vor dem Kurfürsten Jacob von Eltz am 27. April 1569 und vor dem Kurfürsten Johann von Schönenberg am 15. September 1581 auf dem Banne von Longuich', *Trierische Chronik*, 1 (1905), 185–90 (pp. 187 and 189). This publication was made on the basis of two sheets found among manuscripts of one dean from Trier who had obviously copied these accounts from some sort of a 'Huldigungsbuch' that continued that of Peter Maier, but did not survive.

[20] See for instance a formula: 'on behalf of the subjects' ('von wegen der vndertanen': fol. 83^{r}, the episode from Zell).

[21] 'Also stoende Johann her zu Helffenstein zurzit Amptman / zu Wittlich zugegen. Dem gab syne gnade zuuor die hannt': fol. 81^{v}.

[22] In the same situation the subjects of the Bishops of Speyer also used to give hands to their lord: Andermann, 'Zeremoniell und Brauchtum', p. 141.

respect the *good old* customs. This means that if he eventually needed to intervene in the law and order of his subjects he could just proclaim some of their legal norms 'bad' and 'new'. Accepting his obligation to keep the privileges of the community intact, the bishop also gave his hand to a burgomaster.[23] This gesture was neither invented in the sixteenth century, nor practised exclusively in the diocese of Trier. When we read in one document from 1397 that the Archbishop of Mainz swore 'in the hand' of the burgomaster of Mainz to respect the freedoms and privileges of the metropolitan city, the phrase *in sine hant* (not understood by the publisher) obviously referred to the same procedure.[24] This helps us understand the symbolic sense of such hand touching. It was not the inferior who had to give his hand to his superior; rather, the person who promised something gave his hand to those to whom he promised.[25]

After exchanging oaths with the prince, the community gave him a present. Such gifts in the province of Trier seem to have been even more standardized than they were in other German lands, for example in the diocese of Augsburg.[26] Thus we hear in Trier nothing about gilded silver cups or goblets as gifts, whereas such cups were often presented at that time to emperors, kings, and princes: in the late Middle Ages they became almost standard gifts for potentates at their ceremonial entrances. As the Archbishop of Augsburg visited the towns of his episcopacy in 1486 he was honoured with such gilded cups at least twice. This does not mean that the communities along the River Lech were richer than those along the River Moselle, but it does possibly mean that the communities along the Moselle were more conservative in their symbolic traditions than those along the Lech.

Cups filled with golden coins seem to have been a relatively new occurrence in the German lands: the practice of presenting them is scarcely met there before the fourteenth century, when this practice was, perhaps, imported from Italy. The tradition of naturalia gifts was without any doubt much older. It is obvious that the towns in the Moselle region continued to maintain this older form of honouring their

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[23] An example from Montabaur: see note 55 below.

[24] Brück, 'Huldigungsreise', p. 40.

[25] On this gesture, see for instance Adalbert Erler, 'Handschlag', in *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. by Adalbert Erler and Ekkehard Kaufmann (Berlin: Schmidt, 1971–98), I (1971), 1974–75. A wonderful example can be found among the legends about Francis of Assisi ('Fioretti', chapter 21). As St Francis made peace between burghers of Gubbio and a fierce wolf that had terrorized the whole neighborhood he asked the 'brother wolf' to pledge its faith to stop his ferocities ('io voglio che tu mi facci fede di questa promessa'). The saint put out his hand and the wolf lifted up his paw and placed it familiarly in the hand of St Francis, giving him thereby the only pledge which was in his power ('il lupo levò su il piè ritto dinanzi, e dimesticamente lo puose sopra la mano di santo Francesco, dandogli quello segnale ch'egli potea di fede'). A bit later Francis of Assisi let the wolf renew its pledge in the same way but this time publically in the marketplace of Gubbio.

[26] The list of presents to Bishops of Augsburg in 1486 and 1505 in Holenstein, *Huldigung der Untertanen*, pp. 460–61.

princes and did not accept the later innovations, but it is difficult to propose any rational explanation for this fact, besides a general and rather abstract reference to the conservatism of these communities. According to this conservative tradition the Archbishop of Trier could have expected in almost every town of his principality to receive as a gift a tun of wine (an appropriate type of present for the Rhine-Moselle region with its age-old tradition of wine making).

But there were also some 'non-standard' gifts ready. Thus in Saarburg, despite the old conflict with the Archbishops of Trier (or maybe exactly because of it), Jacob II was honoured with two oxen and a pike.[27] Particularly impressive were the gifts in Sankt-Wendelin: besides the traditional tun of wine, the Archbishop received two oxen and six sacks of oats. The burghers asked the prince, not without coquetry, to accept the little of which they in their poverty were capable.[28] The bishop thanked them and mentioned (quite truthfully, one should say) that the presented gifts were already too big.[29] The combination of wine and oats or wine, oats, and an ox (or oxen), sometimes enriched by fishes, was typical of the gifts made by burghers to their lord all over the German lands and possibly even over the whole of Europe. Thanks to laconic accounts of the journeys of the Archbishop of Trier Balduin of Luxemburg (1307–54), we know that in the fourteenth century in the Moselle region a standard present consisted also of wine, oats, and oxen.[30] This combination, with its overtones of satisfaction of the simplest vital needs of the arriving guests (and their horses), leaves an impression of being very archaic and going back perhaps even to the early Middle Ages. In a legal sense such gifts can be interpreted as relics of the right of a lord to claim full maintenance from his subjects. Later on this right must have been limited and reduced to a more or less fixed set of naturalia, having pragmatic use but also symbolic meaning.[31]

In response to this 'gift of acknowledgment' the subjects of the archbishop could await a counter-gift which can possibly be interpreted as a 'gift of grace' — it consisted also of a tun of wine. Just as in many other cases of exchanges with gifts, here it was also an instrument of establishing and maintaining social bonds. Characteristically, the prince of Trier did not consider it necessary to exceed his subjects in generosity and never diverged from some sort of a 'standard gift'. One could present him with not one tun but two (as was the case in Boppard[32]), or with the additional oxen and sacks of oats; yet his 'counter-gift' remained always the same — a tun of wine. The prince obviously did not fear that receiving more than he gave would place him in some kind

[27] 'zwei oxen vnd eynen hecht': fol. 100$^{r–v}$.

[28] 'eyne stucke wyns, II ochsen vnd VI secke habern / mitt bitt ire armut zudancke anzunemen': fol. 103^{v}.

[29] 'vnd es were zuuil': ibid.

[30] 'Ein Rechnungs- und Reisetagebuch', ed. by Salomon, pp. 415–20.

[31] Holenstein, *Huldigung der Untertanen*, pp. 461–62.

[32] Fol. 97^{v}.

of legal or 'psychological' dependence on his subjects. The only deviation from the 'standard' appeared to be not an increase of the 'norm' but on the contrary a diminution of it: on one occasion the prince decided to present only half a tun.[33] The reasons for this exception are not explained; maybe the community was so small that even half of a normal wine portion was sufficient to put the inhabitants in high spirits.

At the very end of the ceremony, just before leaving, the prince personally or through his *Hofmeister* told the citizens to rejoice well 'but not forget their wives'.[34] This comment is a bit enigmatic: does the bishop mean that each of his merry subjects must return home sober after consuming free wine? On one occasion we can observe a small nuance in these parting words: the bishop says that the people should indulge themselves 'but not forget to let their wives know'.[35] What should be let known? Maybe no more than the prosaic fact that the females as well as their men were now subjects of the new prince? But, on the other hand, Jacob II said once in Koblenz through his representative, quite unambiguously, that the burghers should enjoy themselves and take some wine with them to their wives![36] Presentation of the archbishop's wine ended the swearing ritual: directly thereafter the prince left for another town, for his castle in the neighbourhood, or for the residence of his local representative. After the departure of the Archbishop the burghers could at last concentrate all their attention on the free wine. (One should not imagine here licentious scenes in the style of Rabelais, with mobs smashing out the tun's bottom and creating streams of wine. One phrase in the protocols of Peter Maier implies such a small detail as a faucet that was hammered into the bishop's tun, and through which the glasses of the thirsty burghers were filled obviously in a quite conventional way.)[37] It is a pity that the nice patriarchal scenes of the prince's barrels rolled down from his ship or from his residence towards a crowd of joyful subjects licking their lips were at that time already almost in the past. Only a few decades later they disappear not only from the sources but obviously also from reality, as the archbishops begin to make their parting gifts only in money.[38]

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[33] Fol. 109^{r} (the episode from Kaisersesch).

[34] 'das solten sie mitt den / alhier gehorig drincken, daby myns g. hern gedencken, frolich / syn vnd der frawen nit vergessen': fol. 103^{v}.

[35] 'daby froelich zu syn vnd den frauwen / mittzutheilen': fol. 97^{v}.

[36] 'Syn ch. f. g. neme eyn solicher [i.e. the gift of the citizens] von ihnen zu / gnaden an wultte auch inen eyne gnediger Herr / syn vnd syne ch. f. g. schenckt inen her / widderrumb eyne fuder wynes solichs samind / zu drincken vnd frolichen zu sin vnd den / frawen mitt zugeben': fol. 126^{v}.

[37] 'vnd foerten den wyn vff / den markte bis das crutze, da wartt er angezappt / vnd gedencken mitt freuden': fol. 108^{r}.

[38] Hulley, 'Huldigung der Dörfer', passim. Such 'monetarization' of the prince's gift is mentioned at the same time also in other German territories. For Brandenburg-Ansbach, see Karin Plodeck, 'Hofstruktur und Hofzeremoniell in Brandenburg-Ansbach vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert: Zur Rolle des Herrschaftskultes im absolutistischen Gesellshafts- und Herrschaftssystem', *Jahrbuch des historischen Vereins für Mittelfranken*, 86 (1971/72), 1–260 (p. 185).

Figure 2. A scene of oath-taking to a representative of Duke of Burgundy in 1469. (*Die Schweizer Bilderchronik des Luzerners Diebold Schilling 1513: Sonderausgabe des Kommentarbandes zum Faksimile der Handschrift S. 23 fol. in der Zentralbibliothek Luzern*, ed. by Alfred A. Schmid (Luzern, 1981), fol. 49.)

This is how the 'general scheme' of the swearing procedure looked. But what can be much more interesting are individual deviations from it or specific nuances in its realization; not only because such disruptions of the norm make our image of the past less schematic and more vivid, but also because they help us to understand better the norm itself and the circumstances in which it was practised. Such individual

differences demonstrate also one of the most significant features of medieval society, namely its 'corpuscularity': each small fraction, each 'corpuscle', in some ways lived according to its own individual norm, which could not be derived from universal ones and was therefore unique. Dealing with such communities we deal with self-sufficient social individuals that were not yet unified, graded, and ranked, as would increasingly be the case a little later through the levelling energy of national states. Accordingly, we are able here to follow how a 'general standard' was modified in individual 'social corpuscles'.

Maybe one of the smallest such corpuscles was Irank, where there was neither town hall nor church. That is why its inhabitants gathered simply on a plain place in the shadow of the trees and very rustically prepared there in the open air long tables with *Collacie* and wine. As the Archbishop arrived and got off his horse, he had first of all to order his subjects to stay on the places they stood (because they might have dashed to their prince).[39] After the traditional general 'touching hands' and taking of oaths with raised fingers,[40] and after the reciprocal promise of the prince to maintain the local liberties, the prince drank with the men in a most democratic way: instead of a tun of wine he presented them with two guldens (a unique exception for this period), ordered them to squander all this money in drink, and left for the next borough.[41]

In this account, the secretary Peter Maier saw fit to write down that the Archbishop, having promised to preserve the rights and freedoms of Irank (as he had done in Pfalzel a little earlier), did not lay his hand on his breast, 'dann es wartt nit an syne gnade begertt' ('because this was not demanded from his grace').[42] This means that the secretary distinguished between different forms of making promises, and that the one with the hand on the breast must have been a more binding one. An ecclesiastical person usually laid his hand on his heart in the same situations in which a layman raised his hand with outstretched fingers. These were gestures of swearing, and not just promising. In fact, the secretary shows here his particular loyalty towards his prince: he believes that Jacob II should not voluntarily let himself be bound too much without any pressure from his subjects. This notion obviously reflects a specific juridical tradition and possibly echoes some conflicts in the past concerning the form of the prince's promise. But Peter Maier may here have been too conservative: Jacob II himself did not hesitate to lay his hand on his breast even

[39] 'Do stoenden die burger allesampt / vor dem flecken vnden deme beumen uff eyner platzen vnd / hatten eynen schyben dische gedeckt, daruff stoende Collacie vnd / wyne etc. Daselbs stuende vnnser g. H. von synem pferd vnd liesse / die burger inn ordenunge staen': fol. 81[r].

[40] 'Daruff sie willig / waren vnd iglicher in sonderheide gab vnnserm g. hr. die hannt / vnd darnach reckten sie die finger vff vnd schwüren': ibid.

[41] 'vnd damitt / dranck syne gnade mitt den burgeren eyne male oder zweye / vnd schenckt inen ii Rynsche gulden zuuerdrincken vnd reyt vondannen ghen Wittlich': ibid.

[42] 'Doch syne gnade / laigte dheyne hanndt uff die bruste zu Paltzell noch zu Iranck, / dann es wartt nit an syne gnade begertt': ibid.

where he was not explicitly asked to do so, for example in Wittlich.[43] The only episode where we may suspect an intended reluctance of the prince to swear in such a binding way was in Grumber, a town that was freshly reintegrated in the principality of Trier after about seventy years in alien hands.[44] One can easily understand the motives preventing Jacob II from confirming rights which could have been granted by other princes to citizens of Grumber, who had not had the opportunity to convince the Archbishop of their inviolable loyalty to the see of Saint Eucherios.

In general, the difference between these two ways of promising seems to have been much less important for Jacob II than for his secretary, at least in 'dialogue' with his old and good subjects. The Archbishop was obviously not eager to fight for each symbolic detail concerning his status, maybe because he felt certain of his not only symbolic but also substantial predominance over the communities of his principality. This can be illustrated by one accident in the town of Bernkastel. The citizens of Bernkastel awaited their prince on the picturesque bank of the Moselle, before the gates of their town. After Jacob II left his ship everything began as usual. The *Hofmeister* asked his question, and the local *Zender* answered in a quite ordinary way. The citizens stood in line to give their hands to the bishop[45] and then swore to him with raised fingers. But thereafter things did not go so swimmingly. Neither the *Zender* nor anybody else asked Jacob II on behalf of the community to confirm the town's privileges. For some reason the community appeared before its Archbishop as totally unorganized and unable to care promptly for its own interests or even to put forward someone capable of carrying on the legal dialogue with the prince. There was nothing to stop the prince leaving the town and cancelling all its freedoms old and new. But Jacob II was a clement ruler. The role of the main representative of Bernkastel was taken, surprisingly (at least for us), by the same *Hofmeister* who several minutes before had acted as representative of the bishop.[46] But now he addressed his lord on behalf of the citizens, asking if Jacob II would promise to let them retain their old good customs. At this point the bishop gives his hand to his own *Hofmeister* as delegate of the community. (Peter Maier's words are here quite unmistakable; he says *inn statt der burger*.) Then Jacob II puts his hand on his breast and gives the oath for which he was asked.[47] Disorganized as they were, the

[43] 'mit vfflegung syner g. hand vff syn brüste': fol. 81^{v}.

[44] Fol. 100^{v}.

[45] 'Also heist vnnser g. herr / sie nach ordenunge gaen vnd namm vonn iglichem inn / sonderheide glubde mitt darreckonge der hant synen / ganden': fol. 82^{r}.

[46] The whole situation could be seen in another light if the Hofmeister Michel Waldecker were by birth the burgher of Berncastel. But in the documents he was called 'von Kaimt' (Kerber, *Herrschaftsmittelpunkte im Erzstift Trier*, p. 416), or rather 'von Raimt' (fol. 86^{r}), and this shows that his native place must have been somewhere else.

[47] 'Vff das gab vnser g. her Waldecker (inn statt der bürger) die / hannd vnd glich daruff so saigte genanter vnser / gnedigister Herre, mitt offlegenge syner gnaden hennde vff di brüste': fol. 82$^{r–v}$.

inhabitants of Bernkastel managed nevertheless to roll out a tun of wine and present it to the Archbishop.[48] In his turn he granted them also a tun — 'for drinking and having fun'[49] — for which the modest citizens thanked him effusively.

The self-consciousness of the inhabitants of Zell was apparently better developed than in those of Bernkastel. They decided to adorn their gifts to the prince (the usual tun of wine as well as a rather unusual bullock) with their coats of arms.[50] Through this, their present acquired a new sense: it not only expressed the idea of obedience to the lord, but served also as a representation and self-identification of the community. The behaviour of the prince in Zell was also not quite standard. Everyone was ready to take the oath, and a certain *Schultheiss* Rosenheim had already given the proper answer to the question of the *Hofmeister*. Unexpectedly, Jacob II decided to give his promise to the citizens first. He gave his hand to the *Zender* 'as representative of the subjects'[51] and then promised with the hand on the breast 'before all people that were there'[52] to keep the freedoms of the town. These gestures and words were accepted by the inhabitants of Zell with joy and satisfaction. 'And now — shouted the *Hofmeister*, — after our lord did so, you must also swear!' And all the citizens of Zell one by one came up to the tribune made of heaped planks to give hands to the bishop and swear thereafter with the formula[53] read out loudly by the *Hofmeister*. Why Jacob II decided to change radically the order of exchanging mutual oaths is difficult to guess: one may only assume that he wanted to express with this unusual step his special sympathy to Zell for reasons that remain to us obscure.

In Montabaur Jacob II did not intend to swear first; but here the burgomaster enforced this on him. He said that the citizens of Montabaur would with pleasure make their oaths, but according to tradition and old custom only *after* they had heard the promises of the Archbishop.[54] Jacob II had to comply graciously with this desire because the custom, according to his own information, must have been really very old. So he stretched out his hand to the burgomaster as representative of all citizens[55]

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[48] 'vnd die von berncastell hatten eyne fuder wyns vff eyme / waysen vor der portten halten das schancken sie synen / gnaden': fol. 82^{v}.

[49] 'den zudrincken vnd frolich zu syn': fol. 82^{v}.

[50] 'Die hatten Celler wapen': fol. 82^{v}.

[51] 'von wegen der vndertanen': fol. 83^{r}.

[52] 'Vnd darnach so / laigte vnser g. her syne hanndt vff die bruste vnd sprach allenthalben zu den luten die da waren': fol. 83^{r}.

[53] 'Vnd / sullen vff sytte treden vnd ye eyner nach dem andern / vnserm g. herrn die handt daruff geben vnd darnach / schweren': fol. 83^{v}.

[54] 'doch das syne gnade zuuorabe inen verspruchnisse tede, wie von alter herkommen vnd gewonheide were': fol. 87^{v}.

[55] 'Daruff (vnd dwile es von alter gewonheit / als sie sagten were) [. . .] vnd gab dem burgermeister inn statt der burger / die hant': fol. 88^{r}.

and then laid it on his breast. Only after that came the turn of the members of the town council and *Scheffens* to hold out their hands to the prince.[56]

A nice episode took place in Meyen. Near the last village before this town the prince was greeted with all respect by its *Amptmann*, *Schultheiss*, burgomaster, and scribe. Then the Archbishop rode further on, and these high-ranked citizens must have fallen a bit behind. In any case, at the moment Jacob II approached the town walls there was no one in his escort who could whisper in his ear that the second and main act of honouring him must now take place: the whole community of Meyen with schoolboys and regular canons holding church banners stood in a solemn procession at the town gates, waiting for their prince. They were all ready to lead him solemnly to the town church and to sing there *Te Deum laudamus* according to tradition. But Jacob II knew nothing about all these preparations and simply passed by Meyen directly to his castle without leaving the saddle. After such a misunderstanding the burghers had to improvise another reception for their bishop — this time at the walls of his castle — and to bring him there the traditional tun of wine.[57] The story of this reception in Meyen is useful to the historian in at least one respect. It gives a clear answer to one important question: to what extent did the prince define the scenario of his reception in this or that town? The authors of some studies assume that the burghers were exactly informed beforehand as to how they should welcome their prince and had hence only to fulfil these instructions.[58] This assumption seems to be (at least for the late Middle Ages) mainly erroneous — the case of Meyen confirms this once more. In the epoch preceding that of 'classical absolutism' the prince was not able to control systematically the organization of his reception in a given town, nor did he seek such control. Normally, he did not know exactly what

[56] 'Also giengen die vom Rade vnd scheffen / zu vnserm g. herren mitt darreckonge yrer hennde / damit sie hulten vnserm g. herrn': fol. 88[r].

[57] 'Da syn synen gnaden entgegen geritten kommen / vor das nest dorffgin vor meyen der Amptman / vn[d] Schulteis, Burgermeister vnd Stattschriber zu Meyen vnd entfiengen / syn gnade syn g. reit furtt biss an die statt / da staenden die regulierter daselbs mitt faenen / schulern mitt sambt den burgern in processione / inn meynong syn g. inn die kirche zu furen te / deum laudamus zu singen, als dann das altherkomen / ist. So aber synen g. dasselbig nyemans gesaigt / stoende syn g. nit abe vnd reit biss inn / das slosse, daselbs entfiengen die von Meyen / abermals mynen g. herrn vnd schanckten synen g. eyn fuder wyns': fol. 107[r].

[58] We can raise the question on the level of generalization and reformulate it to ask whether there was a place left for improvisation in medieval political ritual. For a more or less negative answer to this question, see Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997), pp. 229–57. Another interpretation of medieval political ritual would stress on the contrary the fact that the moment of improvisation was immanent to it already on the morphological level (whereas the possibility of improvisation did not exclude of course the 'Inszenierung' of some or sometimes even most important elements of this or that individual ritual act): Michail A. Bojcov, 'Ephemerität und Permanenz bei Herrschereinzügen im spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 24 (1997), 87–107.

was awaiting him: arrangements for the 'reception party' were a surprise for him, and sometimes maybe even not a very pleasant one.[59] The prior negotiations concerning the details of the welcome ceremony pertain to exceptions and not to rules.

An example of such an exception can be also found in Peter Maier's minutes. It belongs, however, not to the time of Jacob II but to that of his successor. The new Archbishop Richard sent in 1511 the following letter to the head of the community of Boppard: 'Dear vassal. Since we are going with the assent of God to accept the oath from the inhabitants of Boppard next Friday at about twelve o'clock, we wish that you should organize a procession with Carmelites and prebendaries that would receive us solemnly on the bank of the Rhine and accompany us to the church, where everything should be arranged in the same way as it was arranged for our last predecessor, Archbishop Jacob of respectful memory.'[60] Such an unusual letter attempting to regulate the forthcoming reception ceremony (though only in its general features) can be explained by reference to the traditionally very complicated relations between the Archbishops of Trier on one side and the community of Boppard on the other.[61] What Archbishop Richard really claims from the burghers of this town is a public demonstration of their loyalty to him — and in exactly the same form as they used for his predecessor. But elsewhere, in such places as Meyen, where there was no sign of any conflict between the authority and the community, the prince could even afford to totally forget about an honourable reception that the burghers were obliged to prepare.

Hardly less peculiar than that in Meyen was the 1503 swearing ceremony in Cohem. It already looks strange that the prince was honoured with the traditional tun of wine at the very beginning and not at the end of the act. But this was only a small point. The inhabitants of Cohem began in turn to ascend the platform and stretch out their hands to the bishop. 'And there was none who avoided this',[62] says our text. It

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[59] Michail A. Bojcov, 'Der diskrete Charme der Herrschaft', *Majestas*, 5 (1997), 23–66 (pp. 34–35).

[60] 'Lieber getruwer. Als wir in willen syn, will / gott, vff nestkomen fritage zu XII vren von / dem von Bopparten huldunge zu entfangen / so ist demnach vnser meynunge, das du die / processe von den Carmeliten vnd preben- / daten anstellst vns processionaliter an / dem Ryne zuentfangen vnd in die Kirche / zugleiden vnd zutunde wie sie vnserm / nesten vorfaren Ertzbischoff Jacoben loblicher / gedechtnisse getan haben': fol. 128^{r}.

[61] About this long conflict, see Max Holtz, *Der Konflikt zwischen dem Erzstift Trier und der Reichsstadt Boppard insbesondere im Jahre 1497* (Diss.) (Greifswald: Abel, 1883); Holtz, *Das Nachspiel der Bopparder Fehde: Darstellung der Streitigkeiten im Erzstift Trier bei Gelegenheit der Coadjutorwahl des Markgrafen Jakob (II.) von Baden* (Stralsund: Königliche Regierungsbuchdruckerei, 1893); G. F. Böhn, 'Der Bopparder Handstreich vom Dreikönigstag 1501', *Landeskundliche Vierteljahresblätter*, 20 (1974), 10–19.

[62] 'Dann sie sulten nacheynander / vber das gerust oder bartte, da vnser g. h. vff stoende / zuchtich gaen vnd ye eyner nach deme andern gaen / vnnd syner gnaden die handt gebben nymans ab- / bruchlich': fol. 84^{v}.

is here, by the way, that for the first time the protocols of 1503 explicitly describe the order in which the burghers approached their lord (obviously not only in Cohem): first the *Scheffens* and the most prominent burghers and only thereafter all others.[63]

When half of the prince's subjects had passed, a serious quarrel suddenly broke out between inhabitants of the nearby villages of Ellenz and Poltersdorf on one side and Bruttig and Fankel (on the opposite bank of the Moselle) on the other. These people had been called to Cohem to take their oaths. The peasants immediately began to thrash each other right in front of the platform.[64] The Archbishop obviously considered it better to demonstrate his good nature in order not to spoil with his anger such a solemn event. He mentioned indulgently that what happened before him did not harm anyone especially, but as the time would come to go to a real battle, it would be necessary to respect due order.[65] The joke, however, did not help, and the scene descended into a fantastic muddle. The lord was crowded down from his platform and had to slip away through the doors of the 'wine house' that was a sort of backdrop for the whole scene. The burghers of Cohem ran for their arms. Some of them seized axes; other began to draw arbalest-strings. None would listen. To complete the scene, one should mention the women's screams: the wives and daughters of Cohem's burghers stood at the windows in all nearby houses, intending to watch from above the whole ceremony of oath taking. The disciplined citizens came running with their weapons to the town hall like any self-respecting town dwellers facing a dangerous situation.

This turmoil continued for more than half an hour before it became a little calmer. At that moment the *Hofmeister* shouted that the inhabitants of Bruttig and Fankel should go home because the bishop intended to let them swear at some other time. But nevertheless they should not think because of this order that they had fallen into the prince's disgrace.[66] Strangely, the peasants followed this order and broke up.

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[63] 'Daruff so giengen die scheffen vnd eerlichsten von / Cochme voran vnd die andern darnach, vnd gaben / vnserm g. herr ire hennde vnd huldten': fol. 84^{v}.

[64] 'Do nu / die huldonge mit darreckonge der hennde by nach / zum halbentheile geschehen was, da begonden / sich die von Ellents vnd Poltersdorff als eyne / parthie vnd die vonn Protig vnd Fanckell auch / als eyne parthie gegeneynander zunypelen vnd / zu stoissen vor dem geruste ader bortten': fol. 84^{v}.

[65] 'Da vnnser / g. herr vff froende vmb des furgancks willen das / doch zuuor nit zuthunde vffentlich verboten was / Sonder gesaigt das das gaen kynem an syner gerechticheid / abbroche thun solte, vnd wann man zu felde ziehen wurde / sold man die ordnung halten': fols 84^{v}–85^{v}.

[66] 'Es half aber alles nit, / vnd wart alsolich rumor vnd vfflauffe zuschen inen, das / es eyne wonder was vnd vnser g.h. wartt von dem geruste / verdrongen also das syne g. inn Adam Bald wins huis / bynnen die duere wychen meist, vnd was man rieff / halff alles nit vnd yederman lieff zu synen gewehre / da raufften sich etliche mitt den haexen, die anderenn / wunden ire Armbruster vff vnd was so eyne groisse / rumor, das nyemant mochte gehoeren. Die wybere die / vff den finsteren lagen, die rieffen luder stymme, vnd / die burgere zu

After that, the men of Cohem finally completed the complicated action of giving their hands to their prince. However, the ritual did not proceed as far as the solemn exchange of oaths: the Archbishop just took the citizens' wine with him and rode immediately to his castle for supper.[67] But he refused to stay even there and left for another town, in spite of the fact that night was falling. Clearly, he had not been amused by the reception in Cohem. Only some time later did Jacob II return to this uneasy town to exchange oaths with the burghers. The inhabitants of the pugnacious villages were gathered separately on a small meadow on the bank of the Moselle, where they had to give hands not to the bishop personally, but to one of his courtiers. In this way the peasants did get their punishment. However, a bit later they were allowed to join the others standing already at the old place in front of the 'wine house', to raise together their fingers in oath, and to hear the 'counter-oath' of the Archbishop, who did not forget to lay his hand on his breast and to present the subjects before leaving with the due wine.[68]

Difficulties of another sort awaited the Archbishop at the walls of two comparatively big towns — Limburg an Lahn and Oberwesel. As the Archbishop was approaching Limburg, he saw that against all expectations the town gate was closed. In front of it stood the burgomaster and members of the town council, who explained to Jacob II that each new Archbishop at his first entry into Limburg must, according to custom, take an oath which would be immediately fixed in a proper charter. All predecessors of Jacob II had acted this way, and he could check this if he looked into the charter written on the equivalent occasion by the late Archbishop Johannes.[69]

Cochme lieffen alle mit yren geweren / zum raithuss. Dieser rumor weert mehe dan eyn halb / stoende, das nyemant gehoeren konde der gerichtsbotten / rieffe sich heiser vnd vnnser g. herr liesst inen / dene fridden by verhorunge libs vnd guts durch den / Hoiffmeister gepieten vber dru ader viermale bissolange / das man sie ettwas stillte, vnd do rieffe der / Hoffmeister, were von Protig vnd Fanckel were, das / die abtreden, syne gnade wulte vnderstan die fech umb / hinzuleggen, vnd vff eyne andere Zyt huldonge vonn / ine entfahen. Auch so wulte syne g. ine dene – ergangen handell nit zu vngenaden halten': fol. 85^{v}.

[67] 'Des liessen / sie sich settigen vnd traden damitt abe. Also schiede vnser g. herr ende abe, dan so vil als die von / Cochme mitt vmgebonge irer hende synen gnaden /Gehuldet hatten. Vnser g.h. thede ine auch keyne / glubde, die von Cochme schenckten synen gn. Zudrincken / damitt reit syne gnade vff das Slosse, vnd assed a zunacht': fols 85^{v}–86^{r}.

[68] 'Dwile wie obgemelth Irthumb zuschen den dorfferen Protig vnd / Fanckell an eyme vnnd Ellents vnd Polterßdorff am andern teile was, so hesst syne gnade dieselben dorffer / zu Cochme vor den fleckin an die Mosell bescheidenn. / Daselbs namen der Edell Henrich her zu Premondt vnd / zu Eremberg vnd der vest Michel Wakdecker vonn / Reympt huiß hoiffmeister glubde von inen mitt / dargebonge irer hennde. Do solche geschiehen was, beschiede man sie vor das Raithuse, by die ander burgger vnd vntertanen, die dann glicherwise glubdt / vnnsernn g. herrn gesstaene hatten': fol. 86^{r}.

[69] 'Vnd da syn gnade vor / die statt quam, waren die portten alle zu, vnd / Burgermeister vnd Rate stoenden heyssen dene / portten vnd sagten vnserm g.h. die meynunge / es were gewoenlich das eyn iglicher Ertzbischoff / in syner gnaden ersten Inkunfft inenn zu- / uor

After examining the charter, Jacob did not go into discussions with the citizens, but swore with his hand on his breast. His oath was obviously immediately written down, because we can read on the same pages of the *Huldigungsbuch* the text of a notarial act concerning the swearing.

Just after the prince swore, the gate of Limburg opened wide. It turned out that behind them the town priesthood stood waiting for the entry of the Archbishop, with relics and in the procession order. The street was flanked by armoured citizens. They received the lord with honor and glory, led him into the church of Saint-George, and sang their *Te Deum laudamus* 'with accompaniment of the organ'.[70] Jacob II received as a gift from the community a tun of wine and a cart of oats. Then he moved on to *Krechoiff*, where all the townsmen with the burgomasters and members of the town council were already awaiting their prince to swear to him. After the usual exchange of oaths, the Archbishop pronounced one new formula, which we have not heard from him before. He said that if anyone had complaints concerning disorders in the town, he would listen to them and investigate the case, but only the next time he was passing through, as for now he was too busy.[71]

In the town of Oberwesel (the *Huldigungsbuch* calls it simply Wesel), there was an even more troublesome 'good old custom' to be observed, and the prince was not told about it beforehand. To enter the town each 'electus' had to have with him an official instrument attesting that he was elected with the consent of the chapter, in order to prevent the town taking an oath to a false bishop.[72] As Jacob II arrived, the citizens demanded in no uncertain terms to see such a charter, otherwise they would never swear to him. But Jacob II did not have the required document with him. He had to answer personally (and not through his *Hofmeister*) that he would be glad to fulfill the citizens' claim, but not immediately: he undertook to do this a bit later in

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versprechen vnd verschriben / sulte, wie anndere syner gnaden / Vorfaren getaen hetten vnd zeigten damitt eynen / brieue wie Ertzbischoff Johann seliger gedechttenisse / desglichen getane hette': fols 89^{v}–90^{r}.

[70] 'Damitt giengen die portten vff, vnd / stoenden die geistlichen allenthalben, mitt eyner eerlichen / processien bynnen der portten mitt dem heilthumb / vnd die burger zu beiden sitten im harnasch mitt iren / geweeren vnd entfiengen vnsern g.h. eerlich vnd / loblich vnd fuertten syne gnade inn sannd / Jorgen monster daselbs vnd sengen Te / deum laudamus cum organo': fol. 90^{v}.

[71] 'wes sie gebreche vnd beschwernisse / hetten, die wulle syne g. eyns mals (so syn g. mit / muessen zu inen kommen vnd frolich syn wurde, des / dan syn g. inn meynong were bald zuthun) hoeren / vnd mitt gnaden darinnen sehen laissen': fol. 91^{r}.

[72] 'Aber syne gnade sullte es in gnaden von inen versteen, sie hetten eyne gewonheide / by inen, wanne eine inkummender Ertzbischoff / ghen Wesel queme, huldonge zuentfahen, so were / es vonn noeden, das derselbe Ertzbischoff, ader / bestetigter schrifftlich kunntschafft by ime hette, das / er durch das Capittel zu Trier eynhellig vffgenomen were, / damit nit irronge entstoende, der huldonge halber': fol. 92$^{r–v}$.

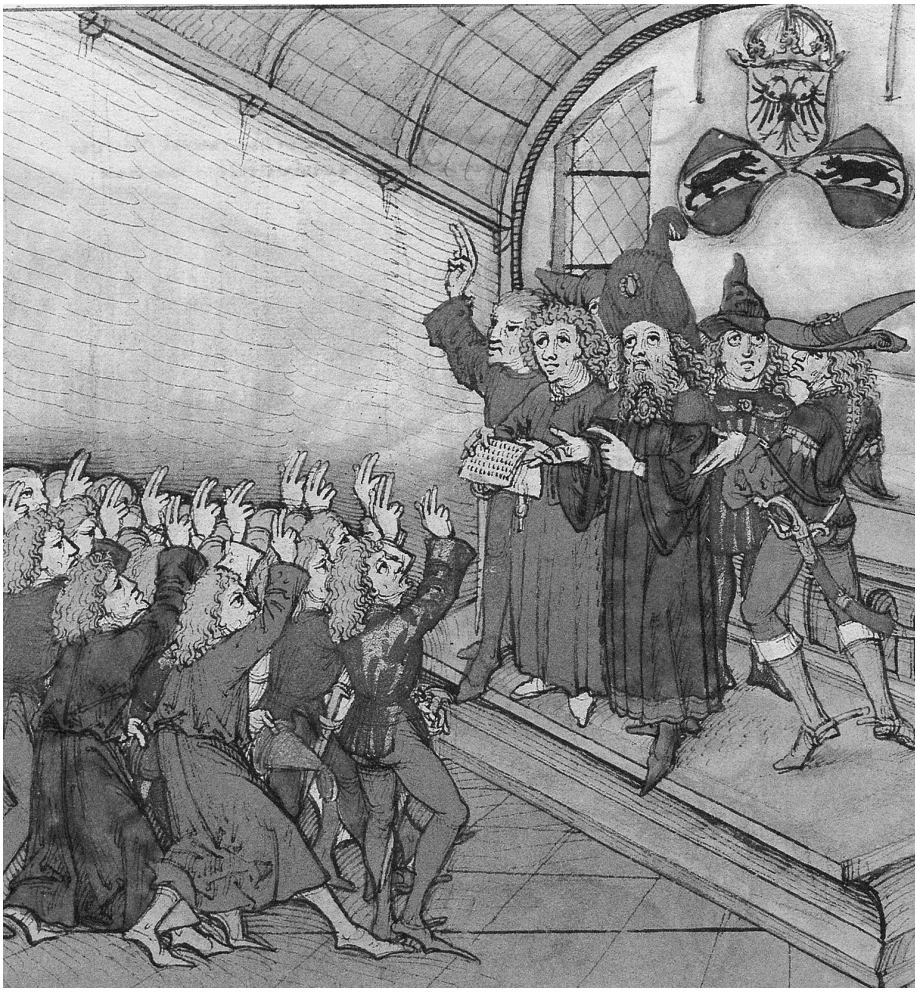

Figure 3. A scene of oath-taking to the magistrate
of the imperial city of Bern (15th century).
(*Diebold Schillings Spiezer Bilderchronik. Faks.-Ed*. (Luzern, 1990), p. 192.)

his study at the *Kelnerei*,[73] as offices of princely 'local administration' in the Rhine region were known. The people of Oberwesel expressed their satisfaction with the answer even though, as we can imagine, all the inhabitants were already ready to greet their lord. Presumably behind the closed gates the priesthood and citizens had been waiting in procession order, as in Limburg. Now all of them, as well as other

[73] 'inn syner g. stoben in syner kelnereien zu den von Wessell / syne g. were des auch willig zuthunde': fol. 92^{v}.

inhabitants of Oberwesel, had to go home. We may presume that they were not in the highest spirits as they put away their reliquaries, gonfalons, and armour.

Meanwhile Jacob II ordered his *Türhüter* to ride to the castle Ehrenbrettstein, and bring from there the necessary document. On the next day at five o'clock in the morning the instrument was in the hands of the prince and, wasting no time, he sent for the town councilors. They began immediately to make new arrangements for the reception.[74] Only two hours later (it had just struck seven) the festival procession of town clerics singing *Advenisti desiderabilis* accompanied the bishop from his residence to the market, where there was a 'beautiful platform' decorated with 'clean textiles' and carpets and banks of cushions.[75] The Archbishop, his courtiers, and the town councilors stood on the platform; the priests lined up on both sides before it. In the centre, between two groups of priests, stood a town scribe, who shouted with 'full and loud voice' to keep silence.[76] It is striking that it was a town scribe in Oberwesel and not the prince's *Hofmeister* who took the role of main manager of the whole procedure. First of all he tells the burgomaster to take an oath and the citizens to say 'yes' in loud voice if they are willing. Then he holds out the text of the oath and lets everyone stretch up their fingers, reminding them that this procedure will oblige all those who are present to fulfill everything that is said in the oath.[77] While the citizens hold up their right hands, he reads the oath formula.

The formula itself leaves a rather peculiar impression. For one thing, the condition 'to preserve all liberties of the town' was formulated here already — in the oath of allegiance and not in the reciprocal promise of the bishop. For another, the burghers swore to be loyal, not forever, but only until such a time as some Archbishop of Trier

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[74] 'dorwartt in Erenbrettstein vmb zuhoelen die rachtonge so zu / Tranzbach mit den vier widderwertigen doemherren / gemacht was zusampt etlich andern schrifften des donrstags / glich sene zu fvnff vren obgenantem vnserm g.h. ghen Wesell / bracht (the bishop arrived at the town on Wednesday) vnd alsbalde liesse syne gnade die vom Rade / solich rachtonge besichtigen, daromb sie gute beuuegens / hatten. Vnd von stunden an bestalten vnd verordenten / sie processien vnd anders zu der huldonge dienende, wie her- / nachfolgt': fol. 92^{v}.

[75] 'Item an obgenantem Donnerstage des morgens frue vmb die / sieben vren quamen die geistlichen allenthalben mitt eyner / Eerlicher processien vor der Kelnerie zu Wesel vnd gleitten / vnsern g.h. mitt deme gesange Aduenisti desiderabilis etc. / biss vff den markt zu Wesel daselbs eine zierlich gesteiger / mitt suberlichen vmbhengen, Tapisserien, bencken vnd kůssen / zugericht was': fols 92^{v}–93^{r}.

[76] 'Vnd / die processe stoende vor dem gesteiger mitt ordenungen vff / zweyen sytten der stattschriber zu Wesel stoende vor vnserm g. Herrn vff deme gesteige vnd rieffe mitt voller / vnd luder stymmen zu den burgeren das eyne iglicher stille / schwiege, das reden sie': fol. 93^{r}.

[77] 'vnd welichen burgeren das / lieb were, das die alle mitt luder stymmen darzu "Ja" sagen / sullten. Das reden sie also hatte der stattschriber eynen zetl / inn der handt, Vnd saigte er wulte denselben redl vberludt / lesen vnd sulte eyn Jglicher die finger vffrecken vnd / eynen eit schweren. Denselben zettl syns Inhalts zuhalten': fol. 93^{r}.

and his chapter 'will give us up and let us be free'.[78] The historical context of this unusual oath is more or less clear. In the fourteenth century Oberwesel was still an imperial town, and only later came under the domination of the electors of Trier. Because of this the burghers of Oberwesel transformed their oath to their lord into a demonstration of their desire to liberate themselves from his authority and to restore their previous independent status. The swearing ceremony thus inclined the social memory each time not towards loyalty to the see of Trier but towards nostalgic recollection of lost freedom. The difference in the self-consciousness and ritual behaviour of this community compared to those of the inhabitants of Bernkastel is striking.

After the burghers took their strange oath, the town scribe immediately called the Archbishop to take his counter-oath. It is significant that the text of this oath was already here, and that it was also held by the scribe but not by the *Hofmeister*. With this oath, Jacob II had to promise to keep the inhabitants of Oberwesel in the same status as they 'have been until now', as they were still subjects of Roman emperors and kings. The taxes that the prince of Trier raised from them must not exceed 200 marks in good coin each year.[79] Is it not possible that the formulas of the oath go back as far as the fourteenth century, to that turning point in the history of Oberwesel when the town had to recognize the domination of the Archbishops of Trier? Jacob II had to swear with his hand on his breast. Then two carriages loaded with two tuns of wine, decorated with the arms of Oberwesel, were brought forward — more evidence of the self-consciousness of the local inhabitants. The generosity of the community (two tuns instead of the traditional one) did not impel Jacob II to 'repay' with more wine than usual. As the Archbishop was about to leave the platform, he announced that he would like to visit the town in his spare time and have a good time with its inhabitants and that if they had any complaints he would hear them and take measures graciously — a promise for which the townsmen thanked him specially.[80]

The 'constitutional sense' of the gracious promise of the prince to return once 'in his spare time' in order to regulate the local affairs (Jacob II gave it not only in Limburg and Oberwesel but also in Münstermaifeld[81]) is not clear from the Trier material. But it is clear enough that the tradition of bringing complaints to the prince

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[78] 'Also lange biss das eyne Ertzbischoff zu Trier / vnnd syne Stiffte vff vns verzichet vnd vns ledig sagend': fol. 93^{v}.

[79] 'Inn allerneist als sie von Romischen Keiseren vnd / Kuningen denselben von Wesell bishere synd gehalten. Vnd sullen auch nit meher zu stuyr von inen nemen / dan zweihondert marcke guter wehronge alle Jare von / den Cristen': fol. 93^{v}.

[80] 'Vnd als vnnser g.h. von dem gesteiger gaen woltte, do / liesse er denen von Wesell sagen seyne g. wulte eyns mals / mitt guder moissen ghen Wesell kommmen vnd frolich / mitt inen syn. Vnd wes sie beschwernis hetten die / wulte vnser g. h. hoeren vnd darinnen gnediclich handeln / des danckten die von Wesell synen gnaden': fol. 94^{r}.

[81] 'Darnach liesse vnnser g.h. inen sagen syn gnade / wurde eyns mails mitt muessen zu inen ghen Monster / kommen wes sie dann geprechen ader beschwernisse / hettenn, die woltte syne gnade verhoeren vnd gutlich / mitt inen handelen, des waren sie also beuugig': fol. 87^{r}.

in connection with the swearing ceremony was practiced not only in Trier. It may have been widespread, but expressed in varying forms. Thus the Bishops of Speyer, unlike their colleagues from Trier, genuinely received such complaints and promised to investigate the cases or to delegate to their subordinates.[82] In the early phase of the epoch of universal administrative bureaucratization, it was anachronistic to persuade a prince into personal, quick, and possibly public consideration of debatable cases. In the principality of Trier as well as in that of Speyer (and possibly elswhere) this ritual was 'neutralized' by means that also had ritual character — only in the Moselle region they appeared more radical than in the region of the Middle Rhine.

The self-confident inhabitants of Oberwesel were not so carried away by the bishop's wine to forget to claim from him one more charter — this time including the oath that he had to repeat after the town scribe. In the charter were fixed all his promises in general, and especially the one concerning the tax limit of 200 marks. Only after this formality was implemented could Jacob II at last leave the tribune and proceed to the church of Our Lady accompanied by the priesthood singing *vere felicem presulem*. There he was received by *Te deum laudamus*, performed by a chorus and organ.

Boppard was a rather complicated case. There was a long conflict between the bishop and the burghers of this town and both sides chose the Archbishop of Mainz and the Count-Palatine of Rhine as mediators between them. Representatives of these two princes, as well as those of the town community, negotiated with the Archbishop of Trier on board the ship on which he had arrived in Boppard. During the discussion, which lasted from eleven until two o'clock, the burgers of Boppard waited near the gates of the town that led to the riverside. Standing there in procession order were Carmelites, with prebendaries of the church of Saint Severus with their relics, as well as members of the town council 'and other burghers, men, and women'.[83] (Here it is — that very order of reception that the next archbishop, Richard, would later seek for himself.)

At last Jacob II with his counts, noblemen, learned counsellors, and gentlemen left the ship. In a solemn procession they moved to the town church of Saint Severus where *Te Deum laudamus* was sung. According to one special remark in the records Jacob II stood in the church on the more honourable place to the right, whereas the representatives of the Count-Palatine and the Archbishop of Mainz stood on the left.[84]

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[82] Andermann, 'Zeremoniell und Brauchtum', p. 146.

[83] 'biss an die Carmelitenportte, daselbs stoenden die selben / Carmeliten mit den prebendarien vß sand Seuers / kirchen inn procession mitt dem heilthumb, vnd / daby die vom Rade vnd andre burgere mann vnd / frauwen': fol. 95^{v}.

[84] 'Vnd nach vielereye hande- / lungen die myn g.h. im Schiffe mitt den pfaltzgra- / uischen auch den von bopart den eidt beruren hatte / die dan von XI vren biß die glocke zweye schluege / weertte, gieng syne g. vsser deme schiffe mitt ettwavil / syner g. Grauen, hern, Rethen, gelertten vnd Edeln / vnd die vorgen. Processie gleidte syne g. singende / inn obg. Sand Seuers Kirchen daselbs georgelt vnd / gesongen wartt Te Deum laudamus vnd / stoende

Just as the Mass was completed, Archbishop Jacob left the choir through 'a small door' to Saint Michael's Chapel, and from there directly into a small open gallery decorated with carpets under which the Boppard burghers were already standing with the town council at their head.[85] Then a representative of the Archbishop of Mainz, one of the mediators, took the floor and demanded that the townsmen swear to the Archbishop of Trier as their lord. But it was Jacob II who nevertheless swore first that he would not reduce the freedoms of the town, but on the contrary multiply them (*nitt zumynnen, ee zu meren*). On behalf of the burghers a certain von Elts said that the inhabitants of Boppard thanked God because they now had their lord the bishop and could forget those fears and troubles in which they had had to suffer too long.[86] This significant dialogue marked reconciliation after a long quarrel, a reconciliation that was consolidated by the oath that took two representatives of the community on behalf of all its members. ('And may the Lord allow it so to remain!' — added the secretary with personal intonation, obviously glad that the difficult conflict with Boppard was at last settled.)

Such 'nonstandard situations' which emerged as the new Archbishop travelled through his lands make visible for us the 'political landscape' of the principality — the particularities in relationships the lord had with different 'social individuals' among his subjects. It is not coincidence that Jacob II had to modify the general pattern of the swearing ceremony in almost every new place. The proud Limburg offers a different form of 'symbolic dialogue' between prince and people compared to rural Irank; and the languid Bernkastel has not very much in common with Oberwesel dreaming of freedom.

Some important episodes during the 'receptions' of Archbishop Jacob II recall very much those which normally took place during the *adventus*-ceremonies of an emperor or king in a free city. Thus the townsmen of Sankt-Wendelin presented to the bishop the keys from their gates. Jacob II took the keys but returned them almost immediately.[87] This 'code' was quite common: the historian knows it well mainly from descriptions of entrances of emperors and kings. Transmitting their keys to the prince the burghers recognize him for their lord; and he, in accepting them, takes in turn the

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syne g. im Chore vff der rechten vnd die / Mentzisch vnd pfaltzgrauisch Rathe vff der Lincken / sytten': fol. 95^{v}.

[85] 'gienge myn g.h. zum chor vß durch das cleyn / duergin durch sand Michels Capelle vff / den gangh, der vor der Kirchen mitt Tapesserien / zugericht was vnd die burger stoenden allent- / halben darnden mitt dem rade': fol. 95^{v}.

[86] 'sie lobten gott, das es darzu komen were, das sie syne g. vor eynen herren / hetten vnd vsser der sorgen vnd angste darinn sie leider / zulange gewest weren': fol. 97^{r}.

[87] 'vnd vberanttwurtten damitt / mynem g.h. die schlussel zu allen der Statt portten vnd / thurmen (die syne g. also annam vnd inen die / [returned], damitt der statt wie bishere woil acht zuhaben widderumb / beuolen)': fol. 103^{v}.

city in his patronage. Exactly because of this, Emperor Charles IV once refused to take the keys of Trier: he understood (quite correctly) that the burghers of Trier intended with this symbolic gesture to get rid of the authority of their archbishop and become direct subjects of the empire. To return the keys back to those who had presented them was almost obligatory. With this gesture the prince demonstrated in a public way his grace and trust in his subjects. Before returning the keys the prince often shook them in the air, and while giving them back said words such as 'Keep my town with the same diligence as you have been accustomed to do until now'.[88]

There was one more interesting and much less well-known (yet no less impressive) element in the ritual of reception, whether of an archbishop or of an emperor. Only a very few historians mention cases when an emperor (or a King of Rome) in his solemn entrance brought with him various delinquents.[89] These were people who had been exiled forever from their city for some offence and were banned from crossing the city boundaries on pain of death. But now they were returning, holding an edge of the prince's clothes, his stirrup or saddle, or the harness of his horse. In such scenes of 'bringing of criminals', or other typologically similar situations (granting of his life to a convict who managed to grasp an edge of the clothes of a passing prince[90]), one sees a display of a ruler's personal (or maybe 'institutional') charisma, a charisma that had not been effaced even in the late Middle Ages.[91] But to explain such episodes with reference to royal charisma alone cannot be plausible. Against this speaks the simple yet often overlooked fact that it was not only emperors or Roman kings who used to bring criminals back into towns. This custom was known as far east as Revel: there it was practised by Hochmeisters of the German Order. It is known for instance that in 1451 one of them brought fifteen people into the city, and another one twice as many in 1536. In 1500, the city authorities asked the third Hochmeister not to bring thieves, murderers, church plunderers, robbers, and other folk of such sort.[92] The same custom is documented in the Rhine region, for example in the diocese of Speyer.[93] No doubt many other cases of the same sort

[88] We hear this formula not only in the German lands but also in Italy. The words of Emperor Sigismund on his entry to Siena in 1432 were transmitted by an Italian as 'Siate voi propii guardia della vostra città': Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik*, p. 32.

[89] Niederstätter, 'Königseinritt', 496; Tenfelde, 'Adventus: Die fürstliche Einhohlung', p. 51.

[90] Drabek, *Reise und Resezeremoniell*, p. 35.

[91] Ernst Schubert, *König und Reich: Studien zur spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1979), pp. 35–52.

[92] 'deue, kerckennbreckers, morders, zerouers, weldeners, strattenschiners': Paul Johansen, 'Ordensmeister Plettenberg in Reval', *Beiträge zur Kunde Estlands*, 12 (1927), 100–15 (p. 103). The author mentions here that the majority of the criminals that were brought in were persons guilty of manslaughter — a fact that corresponds well with information from other German lands.

[93] Thus one bishop took with him to Speyer a person who had been exiled ten years before. The deliquent held the stirrup (hung on it, as the text mentions) of the prince during the

from different parts of the empire will be soon found. But for now such cases remain mostly unknown to historians and each new example is precious. Nobody seems to have mentioned until now that the Archbishops of Trier also used to play the role of 'patrons of criminals'.

The meaning of this, at first glance, strange custom can be easily reconstructed, at least in some of its aspects. For the main source, one must search in the right to grant asylum which had been an old privilege of gods and kings that was later taken on by the increasingly divinized ancient Roman emperors. In what way, and when, this privilege was spread to the Christian bishops can now only be a matter for speculation. In any case, it seems to be clear why this ritual could be meaningful in the late Middle Ages. It demonstrated in a clear visual form the superiority of the prince over the juridical competence (which means at the same time over all other sorts of competences) of the city authorities. Since Antiquity the arrival of a prince in 'his' city had transformed radically the local juridical system, putting it directly (and not only in cases of appeal) in submission to the law court of the prince. The 'returning of criminals' by the prince was a symbolic (and very visual) display of his precedence, his superiority to the city magistrates. The less it was possible for the prince to interfere in the internal matters of the city in practice, the more important to him it must have been to manipulate such *demonstrative* forms of displaying of his own superiority.

Thanks to the text that is analysed here it becomes clear that the Archbishop of Trier saw himself as having full rights to bring delinquents back into the cities that had sent them into exile. Thus once before, a former inhabitant of Oberwesel, who had been exiled several years earlier for manslaughter, prostrated himself before Jacob II. He pleaded with the prince to bring him into the town where he did not dare appear.[94] Whether the bishop took this unhappy person with him or not remains unknown, but with Jacob II when he entered Sankt-Wendelin were two exiles of the same sort (obviously holding onto the harness of the horse or the clothes of the prince). The secretary mentioned specially that they stayed in the town even after the bishop had departed.[95]

This observation was not incidental, but a clear fixation of a precedent having a juridical relevance. There are well-known cases in which the imperial cities allowed

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solemn entry: 'Do saße myn herre wieder uff sin pfert und volgt man der procesß die statt innhin nach, und hinge ime ein echter an den stegreiffe, der hette vor zehen jaren ein libeloß getan, und kame mit ime zu der statt inhin': *Quellensammlung der Badischen Landesgeschichte*, ed. by Mone, p. 359.

[94] 'Daselbst auch eyner der eynen / todschlag vor ettlichen Jaren hatte getaen mynem / g. hern zu fuesse fiele vnd liesse mit synen g. / inn die statt, dann er darinnen nit komen dorfft, / vnd wartt auch by denen von Wesel abgeret inn / Crafft solicher loblicher gewonheide das der / dotschlegger widder zu gnaden quam': fol. 92^{r}.

[95] 'Nota: als myn g. herr zu Sandwendelin inn reit, lieffen zwene / mitt synen g. inne, die sust nit inn die statt hetten / durffen kommen. Vnd blieben darnach darinn': fol. 103^{v}.

such exiles to stay within city walls only so long as the prince was present.[96] Obviously, the secretary foresaw the potential of attempts to limit in this way the prerogatives of the prince (at least theoretically) also on the level of the province of Trier. That is why he notes specifically that in the town of Sankt-Wendelin this rule does not apply but rather another one, which was much more advantageous for the prince.

One episode demonstrates especially clearly the role of the prince as 'patron of criminals' (from the point of view of the townsmen). In the town of Montabaur Jacob II called to him in the castle the members of the town council in order to reconcile them with those 'whom they put under their Bann' (i.e. recognized as criminals).[97] As becomes clear from the narrative, the men of Montabaur regarded as outlaws the inhabitants of several neighbouring villages which pertained to their town in an 'administrative sense'. It was prohibited to them to pass the town gates of Montabaur even to take oaths to their new lord. Mediation of the Archbishop did not bring the sides to any reconciliation (at least immediately). Nevertheless, early in the morning the 'criminals' arrived with their arms and in battle order at the chapel in front of the gates of Montabaur leading to the Koblenz road. The bishop had a tun of wine rolled out of the castle to them in the field, and after having his breakfast set out himself to these men. There in the field he received their oaths, grasping the hands of the *Scheffens* and head men of the villages condemned by those of Montabaur. Just as in all other cases Jacob II promised to respect their old customs and — even more — to render his high patronage to them, these criminals![98]

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[96] So in Aachen in 1442: 'Auch wann ain Römisch kung gen Ach komen ist [. . .] und verpannt lewt einkomen, als in andern stetten gewonhait ist, diselben leut mugen des kungs kunft nicht lenger geniessen, wann alslang er zu Ach ist, wann die von Ach des freihait haben': *Deutsche Reichstagsakten: Ältere Reihe* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1957), XVI, no. 100, p. 173. Strassburg in 1400 did not allow King Ruprecht to bring criminals with him into the city at all: 'kain ächter mit dem kunig oder mit der kunigin in die stat kamen solt, noch in noch iren pfarden oder wagen anhangen': *Quellensammlung der Badischen Landesgeschichte*, ed. by Mone, p. 259.

[97] 'Vnnd darneben saigte vnser g. herre etliche von inen sulten / zu synen g. vff das Slosse kommen, so wulte syne / gnade inen eynen abscheide mitt denen im banne / gesessen geben laissen. Vnd yrer sampt Irthum / halb inen tage ernemen laissen': fol. 88^{v}.

[98] 'Es waren denselben Mondage zumorgen die vß deme / Ampte vnd banne von Montaber by dem heiligen / hußgin vor Montaburer purtten vff der straissen zu / Coblentz zu versamblet vnserm g.h. huldong zu tunde / dan sie worden nit gelaissen inn die statt vmb der Irrong / willen zuschen inen vnd der statt, der schwyndrisst / halben vnd waren ale mitt wehrhafftiger handt vnd inn / ordenunge biss an das obg. heiligen huyßgin getreden vnd / gegangen, vnd vnser g. h. liesse inen eyne stucke wyns /inn das felt fueren vnd schenkt inen das. Vnd nach / dem morgen essen reit vnser g.h. vom Slosse zu inen / inn das felt vnd entfienge huldong von inen. Vnd / entfienge alleyne die hende von den scheffen vnd obersten / der dorffer im banne. Dargegen versprach syn gnade / sie by alter gewonheide blieben zu lassen zu hanthaben / vnd zuschirmen': fol. 88^{v}.

The cases described by Peter Maier not only widen the list of princes who used to take exiles with them into the cities, but may also lend indirect support to a proposition which I have tried to formulate elsewhere: namely, that the representation forms of the German emperors in the late Middle Ages were in many aspects derived from forms of episcopal representation.[99] This supposition opposes the common opinion that it was the bishops who imitated the emperors in the symbolic equipment of their princely power. The last thesis is quite justified for Late Antiquity[100] and is plausible for the early Middle Ages, as the episcopate with the inheritors of the Apostle Peter at its head in fact imitated (or tried to imitate) some symbolic practices of the empire, beginning with the Donation of Constantine or possibly even much earlier. However, since the Staufens' time there began counter-adoptions (such as coronation of the emperor first with a mitre and only then with the crown). After the defeat of the Staufens in their struggle against the popes, the new German kings had to build up their system of representation practically on a blank page or at least among the ruins. They could not lean fully upon Staufen tradition, firstly because this tradition appeared to many as odious, and secondly simply because it was interrupted and many elements lost. The offspring of small comital dynasties who occupied the German throne from the late thirteenth century needed authoritative models for creating their own symbolic halo. To find such models in Germany at that time was possible only in the bishops' residences rich with symbolic traditions. The importance of this source of representation ideas was significant also as a good reflection of the role that the new institution of prince-electors with three archbishops at their head began to play in the 'constitution' of late medieval Germany.

To sum up, one can note first of all much similarity in rituals of *adventus* into the cities of emperors (kings) on one side and of princes (in this case those of the bishops) on the other. This similarity does not surprise at all: it is normal that all variants of *adventus domini* existing at the same time and in the same region must inherently partake of some level of homogeneity; for a prince's entry was one of the fundamental organizing elements which held together the whole political community in the Middle Ages, and not simply one particular part of it (as in the case of rituals which consolidate only one or another distinct group). The 'corpuscles' of communities were connected to each other with the help of a chain of ritual receptions of the common lord no less effectively than with the weakly developed institutions of public power. In this sense the *adventus* (with other similar 'political rituals') was a pivot of medieval 'statehood'.

It is more interesting to mention the differences between the entries in the principality of Trier and the model of the emperor's *adventus*, which seem to reside

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[99] This assumption was made first in Bojcov, 'Ephemerität', pp. 89–90, but the argumentation there was based on some other ceremonies (ritual plundering and 'Altarsetzung').

[100] Theodor Klauser, *Der Ursprung der bischöflichen Insignien und Ehrenrechte* (Krefeld: Scherpe, 1949).

primarily in the more patriarchal character of the first in comparisons with the latter. Anyhow, the Archbishop of Trier was nowhere honoured with a cup filled with gold coins, but only with 'naturalia' as in old times. The archbishop tried as hard as he could to 'touch' physically (but also symbolically!) each of his subjects. In contrast, according to late medieval material I am acquainted with, kings and emperors used to take the hands only of 'community representatives', and not those of their ordinary members, thus establishing a greater distance between themselves and the 'people'. Finally, the monarchs evidently did not like to swear in public (a theory was even elaborated formally prohibiting an emperor to take any oath) and preferred to limit themselves during the entry ceremony to simple promises to respect the rights of the city, or even to manage without this at all.[101]

That ceremonial traditions in the principality of Trier were a bit archaic is especially apparent if we recall that the political rituals on the imperial level were in the period around 1500 in the process of modernization. Emperor Maximilian eagerly adopted the magnificent and theatrical style of political representation that flourished in the Italy of the Quattrocento, and sprouted also in Burgundy. But it seems that in small towns along the Moselle no one imagined that receiving the prince with dignity required the erection of triumphal arches and obelisks, the building of 'self-moving vehicles' (disguised as chariots of antique gods, monsters, or incredible mechanisms),[102] the organization of complicated illuminations, or the staging of intricate allegorical performances. There, everything remained as it had ever been in the good old Middle Ages.

[101] The ruler could confirm in his charter the old privileges of the city, but this procedure was normally of a quite 'bureaucratic' sort and had nothing to do with the public rituals about which we are speaking here.

[102] See the methodologically interesting study by Jörg Jochen Berns, 'Der Ursprung des Automobils aus dem Geist des Triumphes', in *Image et spectacle*, ed. by Pierre Béhar, Chloe, Beiheft zum Daphnis, 15 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993), pp. 313–75.

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